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Delegates Comment on Outcome of EDU Conference

LD0309195593 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, September 3 (MTI)—EDU unequivocally supports Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic joining the European Community and NATO, EDU President Alois Mock told journalists at the end of the EDU Party leaders' conference in Budapest today.

Delegates from European conservative and christian democratic parties on Friday discussed support for newly democratizing central and eastern European countries, along with environmental issues. They also adopted a political declaration.

Mock spoke empathetically on the security needs of central and eastern European countries, and said EDU would use its influence to promote closer cooperation, which is a precondition of admission, in keeping with the Council of Europe's Copenhagen statement.

The south Slav situation has to be reconsidered now that the Geneva talks have come to a standstill, Mock said. The U.N. should use all means at its disposal, including military force, to put an end to aggression, but the initial main aim is to establish safe areas, he added.

Speaking to journalists, Hungary's Christian Democratic People's Party Chairman Laszlo Surjan said he was glad to see the Western parties' recognition for the results of the liberation of Hungary and other countries from socialism. He agreed with EDU's call for disclosing past errors in order to avoid the emergence of another dictatorial regime.

Hungary's Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky praised EDU's role in European integration. He said that as the organization had carried out much integration, western and east-central European parties were equally represented at the Budapest conference.

Answering a question, Jeszenszky said Hungary would submit an application for NATO membership at the right time, which is to be determined by the help of diplomatic connections.

MTI Reports Budapest EDU Conference Statement

LD0309200793 Budapest MTI in English 1558 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, September 3 (MTI)—Party leaders at the Budapest conference of the European Democratic Union (EDU) today adopted a political declaration stating that the fall of communism and the dismantling of socialism have given a unique possibility for securing freedom, peace and prosperity in the whole of Europe.

Firstly, the European Community has the strength and diversity needed to unite the free people of Europe, reads the document.

EDU party leaders believe that only through rapid and comprehensive reform—a shift of system—in the new democracies in central and eastern Europe, will these countries achieve democracy and prosperity. Those who are slow or fail to reform will remain in poverty and misery.

Development in Russia will be of decisive importance for the European continent as a whole, the declaration says.

EDU noted progress made in political, economic and social developments of most new democracies in central and eastern Europe, despite the dreadful heritage of socialism.

The organization requests that states on the road to social market economies take into account ecological standpoints in making all necessary efforts to get these economies going as soon as possible.

All the well-established market economies are requested to support these reforms bilaterally and in international organizations as effectively as possible because "the development of a sound economic system which increases wealth and shares it out in a socially just manner goes hand in hand with the establishment of a democratic parliamentary system and the rule of law," the document says.

EDU supports actively the development of like-minded political parties in all the new democracies. To this end, it has adopted a research, training and assistance programme, the details of which are not included in the document.

EDU's political declaration stresses, "The consequences of socialism in central and eastern Europe in the form of communist dictatorship should not become forgotten or allowed to be covered by the mild light of forgetting and forgiving. The former communist countries should make a common effort to make the necessary arrangements to ensure that all the brutality, atrocities and crimes of communism are well documented, that the errors, mistakes and wrong policies are equally well documented so that subsequent generations can draw lessons from history and are protected from falling back in similar social experiments that promise paradise but prepare hell on earth."

The document stresses the need to set up a new European security system covering central and eastern Europe. It says, "Such a security system is only sustainable if the United States and Canada, within the framework of NATO, take on their share of responsiblity also in the future within and for Europe in the field of security policy, and if the Europeans and the alliance develop, within the framework of the planned European union, a common foreign and security policy, meeting the new challenges which have come up since the early 1990's.

"The security of Europe is inseparable. It is not only ensured by existing military alliances, but, above all for the countries of central and eastern Europe, also by an increasingly close cooperation with the European Community and within the framework of WEU and NATO."

"NATO should be encouraged to take steps towards eventual membership for those new democracies of central and eastern Europe which meet the requirements established by NATO membership, and WEU should invite them to be present as observers in all its bodies and committees," the declaration reads.

On the situation in former Yugoslavia and its security policy consequences, EDU's declaration states that the present war clearly shows that Europe lacks the means needed to prevent and settle armed conflicts, accordingly, it must look for new possibilities.

Settling minority conflicts in central and eastern Europe is vital for security and stability in the region. EDU condemns the war raging in former Yugoslavia and calls on responsible circles to put an end to violence and bloodshed. It also condemns the policy of ethnic cleansing and states that the international community will not recognize forcible border changes and conquests. Those who occupy territories by military force will be denied access to financial resources, the document says.

"Serbia and its allies, the aggressor bearing main responsibility, must understand that the international community will punish international law violations. Serbia must give up its ambition to forcefully change the ethnic mix of Vojvodina, and must restore the suspended autonomy of Vojvodina and Kosovo. Serbia must also guarantee basic human rights for all ethnic minorities living within its borders," the document says. EDU party leaders call for the continuation of talks and respect for U.N. Security Council resolutions.

EDU expressed concern over the difficult situation of the Spanish U.N. peace-keeping force near Mostar, and demands that the parties do not forestall the humanitarian mission of U.N. forces, and observe the cease-fire agreement.

The organization congratulated Estonia and Lithuania on their admission to the Council of Europe, and hope that Latvia will soon become a CE member. EDU party leaders noted with satisfaction the recent departure of the last Russian soldier from Lithuania. They were of the opinion that the Baltic republics should also gradually integrate into a broader, collective European security system.

EDU is deeply concerned about certain signs of xenophobia and racial hatred in Europe. At the same time, it regards the elimination of the causes behind migration as a long-term goal.

The document pays great attention to the future of the European union in view of the growing need for closer European cooperation to meet new challenges in the 1990's. As for the European Community, EDU calls for the admission of EFTA countries by January 1, 1995, and supports the full membership of the Visegrad Group countries, the Baltic republics and other states which meet membership criteria. After accepting the first group of EFTA members, further admissions will have to be discussed at EC's inter-governmental conference in 1996.

According to the declaration, East-West economic cooperation should accompany environmental protection schemes. EDU calls on new democracies to make public information concerning the condition of the environment, cooperate in carrying out transition programmes and create legal conditions for environmental cooperation.

Visegrad Group To Boost Cooperation in Defense

LD0609172893 Warsaw PAP in English 1630 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Krakow, Sept. 6—The ways of using arms industry potential in the best possible manner and the adoption of aims and establishment of principles of cooperation development in logistics protection of armies and weaponry are the main aims of a two-day working meeting of deputy defence ministers of the Visegrad Group that started in Krakow on Monday.

"Our meeting is a continuation of the hitherto cooperation. It aims at summing up and exchanging experiences related to the reorganization of Armed Forces and arms industry in light of the possible cooperation in this field," Deputy Defence Minister Jan Kuriata told PAP on Monday.

The meeting is attended by heads of general staffs, military experts in charge of arms.

The participants toured the international salon of defence industry in Kielce. They are to meet Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz and adopt a final document at the conclusion of the meeting.

Klaus Tells of Kohl's 'Surprise' Over Sudeten Issue

AU0309134393 Prague CTK in English 0724 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, Sept 2 (CTK)—The big attention paid in the Czech Republic to the declaration by representatives of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft on their meeting with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in July had taken Kohl by surprise, Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus told journalists last night.

The statement by Klaus, who leads a delegation of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) to the 15th conference of the chairmen of the parties represented in the European Democratic Union, referred to the recent information by the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft in Munich on Kohl's possible support for Sudeten German claims.

About 2.5 million Sudeten Germans were expelled from Czechoslovakia after World War Two and their property was expropriated under the President Edvard Benes's decrees. They now claim restitution of the property and recognition of the right to homeland.

Klaus also said that Kohl had told him that as far as he (Kohl) was aware he had said nothing exceptional or new, or nothing that would mean a change in his or the Federal Government's views.

Kohl stated that the Sudeten German Council stressed the necessity of a dialogue with the Czechs. What the Czechs interpreted as an attempt to make the Sudeten German issue a matter concerning all Germany, was obviously misunderstood. He pointed to the fact that the Sudeten German Council comprised many institutions of various types, including ones with differing extremist views. He himself places emphasis on a balanced and equal representation of Sudeten Germans in the talks with Czechs so that no voice be allowed to dominate at the expense of another. The impression that the Sudeten German problem was becoming a broader issue could have been explained this way, Klaus stressed.

I think that Kohl considers the issue of the European borders is entirely closed, inviolable, holy, Klaus emphasized. Kohl considers friendly relations with the Czech Republic a dominant matter and their development his personal task. He knows that the Sudeten German issue exists and shares the view that it should be talked about. An opposite attitude usually leads to extremist positions taken on both sides.

Whoever watches German television and press can form an idea on the importance the Sudeten German issue should be attached to, said Klaus. In Germany, the Sudeten German problem is not considered a dominant one, as it is not a problem which would be permanently dealt with on an all-German level, Klaus stated.

Hungary's Antall Warns of Isolation of Albania

AU0309141293 Budapest MTI in English 1322 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, 2 Sep (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall met with Austrian Vice-Chancellor Erhard Busek in Budapest during the European Democratic Union conference.

Praising Hungaro-Austrian relations, Antall said development of economic cooperation was of primary importance and stressed the need to hold regular consultations to settle agricultural and labour policy issues as quickly as possible.

Both emphasized the need to safeguard the balanced relationship that was based on the common interests of the two neighbours.

On security issues, Busek mentioned measures relating to refugees, while on developments in the South Slav war, he said the isolation of Albania could have extremely harmful consequences.

EC Official Meets With Defense Minister Zhulali

AU0609092193 Tirana ATA in English 0825 GMT 6 Sep 93

["In Albania Attention Is Concentrated on the Situations at the Albanian Border—Vice-Commander General of the EC Observers' Mission, General Pioge, Underlines in the Meeting With the Minister of Defence, Safet Zhulali"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 6 (ATA)—"We are closely following the situation not only in the former Yugoslav countries but in other countries as well," vice-commander general of the EC forces, General Pioge, said in his meeting on Sunday with the minister of defence, Zhulali. He underlined the fact that "in Albania attention is focused on the situation in the Albanian border, to closely follow incidents and report in a unbiased way."

Minister Zhulali pointed to the fact that Albania, in its efforts to consolidate democracy, is playing a positive role in avoiding conflicts and incidents and ensure security and stability. He valued the performance of the EC observers' mission, which positively influence in concretely observing facts, and their correct and unbiased conclusions for any incident occurring in the border.

On the same day General Pioge met with the public order minister, Agron Musaraj, who thanked the EC observers' mission for its attention devoted to Albania. "The fact that we have not reacted in the border does not mean that we are unable to counteract but it shows that we, as a state, want to be a factor of stability and understanding," Mr. Musaraj said.

General Pioge said that he is very grateful for the conditions created in Albania to the mission's representatives. He said that "the problem followed by the EC observers is extremely difficult for the very situation in the Balkans, but, what adds to the difficulties is the lack of this mission's observers in Yugoslavia." In conclusion, he said "Despite difficulties they will always be realistic and objective."

Transport Sector Losses Due to Embargo of FRY

AU0609135193 Tirana ATA in English 1013 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Tirana, September 6 (ATA)—Shkodra and Malesia e Madhe are two districts in northern Albania which have had significant economic losses from the application of sanctions against former Yugoslavia. These two districts are main points linking Albania with Montenegro and Serbia.

The international railway cargo station of Bajza, Malesi e Madhe, was constructed some years ago. This is the only railway line connecting Albania with the international railway system. In agreement with the Yugoslav side, it was projected that two trains with a combined capacity of 2,000 tons should enter daily in Bajza during this year. However it is has been 9 months since work was suspended in Bajza.

According to calculations by Albanian authorities, this has increased Albanian expenditures for the transportation of goods by about 20 million dollars annually. The income of the railway station during this year has been insignificant although 4.7 million leks have been paid to the administration staff. The strict observation of the embargo by Albania has caused losses to Albanian private traders as well.

Former Political Prisoners Rally for Rights

AU0609123793 Tirana ATA in English 1009 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Tirana, September 6 (ATA)—Former political prisoners and the persecuted in Albania are insistingly asking for their legitimate rights in order to totally join the political, economic and social life of the country. This was their main demand reiterated in the peaceful rally held on September 5 in the Scanderbeg Square in Tirana. The National Association of Former Political Persecuted asked that political trial for authors of genocide against the Albanian people and for treachery to the homeland of Enver Hoxha and his followers should start as soon as possible.

Participants in the rally stressed that the fight against communism is not yet over and that communism should be uprooted from Albania. The chairman of the association, Kurt Kola, pointed out that the former prisoners and the persecuted are not yet integrated in the society and are still its poorest stratum.

Those present in the rally expressed their support for the government and President Sali Berisha and denounced corruption asking that struggle against it should be severer.

A 12-point resolution to the president of the Republic, the People's Assembly and the government was the most essential point of the peaceful rally. Through the resolution the association asked compensation for the work former prisoners have made in prison, a quick solution of the housing and employment questions, former prisoners should take part in the division of national assets, which, according to the resolution, is being privatized by the former power holders. Former prisoners demanded a profound reform in all links of the state administration.

SDP Group To Rejoin Assembly Proceedings

AU0509143693 Tirana ATA in English 1008 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] Tirana, September 5 (ATA)—The Steering Council of the Social Democratic Party met on September 4 and decided that its group participate in the parliamentary proceedings. The SDP [Social Democratic Party] group abandoned the parliament for two months and a half and the decision was made following the

withdrawal of the Socialist Party group. Skender Gjinushi, SDP leader, in his address regarded the action of SDP as "correct and justifiable because the necessary proceedings in compiling the draft constitution and transparence were lacking and different political games were played." But Mr. Gjinushi dissociated themselves from the attitude of the Albanian Socialist Party. "The withdrawal from and return of the SDP group to the parliament are fully justifiable and quite different from the withdrawal of the Socialist Party which sought parliamentary crisis."

The SDP Steering Council also discussed the coalition with the government in the future.

Selami on EDU Rejection of DP Membership

AU0409192293 Tirana ATA in English 1819 GMT 4 Sep 93

["New Democracy Party of Greece Hinders Democratic Party of Albania To Join European Democratic Union"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 4 (ATA)—Lindita Karadaku writes: Eduard Selami, leader of the Democratic Party [DP], declared at the press conference held at the Palace of Congresses on September 4 that the Greek "New Democracy" hindered the DP to join the EDU [European Democratic Union], although it had helped the DP at the very beginning.

National Interests Rest Above the Party and Economic Interests

The Greek "New Democracy" exercised veto to hinder the admission of the DP to the EDU, using as a pretext the "issue of the Greek minority in Albania" and the arrest of the Socialist leader Nano, Mr. Selami declared at the press conference and added that Nano has not been arrested as leader of the opposition, but as prime minister charged with abuse of office.

Regarding possible compromise in Budapest for the admission of the DP in EDU, Mr. Selami confirmed that his party will not put party and economic values above national ones.

As for the issue of the Greek minority in Albania, the DP leader emphasised that the Albanian Parliament has passed several laws in defence of the rights of ethnic minorities, including the ethnic Greeks in Albania, at a time when the Greek Government does not recognize the ethnic Albanians in Greece.

Asked about the strategy for the normalization of relations with Greece, Mr. Selami said that relations with Greece may become normal through contacts and if the Greek officials change their attitude to Albania. But the Greek politicians "lack bonsense," [word as received] the DP leader stressed. Asked about the perspective of the admission of the DP to the EDU, Mr. Selami said that it can be attained through increasing contacts and pressure of the other parties on the Greek "New Democracy" Party.

Nationalism—The Greatest Challenge After the Abolition of Communism

Nationalism is the greatest challenge after the abolition of communism, Mr. Selami replied to the question on the issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the stability and peace in the Balkans. Procrastination in resolving the issue is dangerous and added that Milosevic survives with the charter of communist extremist. The EDU meeting issued a statement demanding NATO intervention and firm action to resolve the issue. We are for peace and stability in the Balkans, Mr. Selami confirmed.

Everyone Should Bear Responsibility for His Mistakes

Asked about the causes of the release of the minister of agriculture and food, Mr. Petrit Kalakula, who declared at the proceedings of the parliament that he was proud of being accused as fascist by the communists, Mr. Selami said his release was the reaction of the DP to his statement which runs counter to the constitution and program of the DP and it was also a message to the Albanian socialists. The reaction of the DP shows that it does not tolerate such mistakes and everyone should bear responsibility for his own mistakes.

As to the question regarding the corruption of the Meksi government, Mr. Selami said that there are no facts bringing evidence to this, but if the government officials are corrupted they will be punished like Mr. Nano.

Cabinet Adopts Bilateral Trade Agreements

AU0409155993 Tirana ATA in English 0827 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Tirana, September 4 (ATA)—The Council of Ministers discussed in its meeting of September 3 the draft law on the documentation and accountancy records on levies and taxes. It also discussed the draft law on the local budget reflecting the newly-created relations and the proper conditions for its functioning.

The draft decision presented by the state control service examined further on in the government meeting creates possibilities for an economic-financial control by local authorities for enterprises depending on central institutions and the councils of the districts and municipalities. Further on the government adopted in principle the agreement on trade between Albania and Canada. The meeting approved the draft agreement between the Albanian, Swedish, and Dutch Governments about international road transportation of passengers and commodities.

The Council of Ministers also approved the agreement between the Republic of Albania and the European Community for the trade of textile products. On the

basis of this agreement, there are no more limitations on the export of Albanian textile products in the European Community.

At the end, the Council of Ministers approved the draft decision for the creation of a national agency of hydrocarbons.

Ministry Creates Agency for Restructuring of Enterprises

AU0709113193 Tirana ATA in English 1012 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] Tirana, September 7 (ATA)—On the basis of an agreement with the World Bank of Reconstruction and Development, the Council of Ministers decided the creation of the Agency for the Restructuring of Enterprises at the Ministry of Industry, Mining and Energy Resources. As the spokesman of this agency said, it includes about 30 enterprises with a poor economic and financial state. Most of them are part of the system of industry.

This agency will work for technical assistance, administration of financial funds for these enterprises. The government has created the necessary financial basis beginning with this year in which it had designated a fund of 2.4 billion leks on this agency.

Experts of the World Bank are helping a lot in this direction. So far, they have tested about 14 enterprises envisaged to be included in the program of the agency.

Macedonia Jamming Reception of TV Programs

AU0509184193 Tirana ATA in English 1715 GMT 5 Sep 93

["Erected Hindrances Prevent Villages of Diber To Receive Albanian TV Programs"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 5 (ATA)—It is three months that several villages of Diber, north east Albania, bordering on Diber e Madhe of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, do not receive the Albanian TV programs.

Albanian specialists uphold that Macedonia has again installed devices of former Yugoslavia in the villages of Spas and Spile bordering on Albania.

The people of the Albanian border areas of Diber district asked its representatives at the district council to protest against such action which violate the peoples' rights for national information.

U.S. Vice President Sends Letter to Zhelev on Embargo

AU0409135893 Sofia BTA in English 1903 GMT 3 Sep 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, September 3 (BTA)—U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore sent a letter to Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev inquiring whether Bulgaria intends to observe the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia in the future, according to Darik Radio, citing a well-informed anonymous source. The U.S. vice-president raised this question with concern provoked by statements made by a number of Bulgarian politicians.

A group of German inspectors is expected to arrive in this country on September 7 in connection with Bulgaria's commitments under the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, BTA learned from the Defense Ministry's Press Office. They will inspect the cuts of armoured vehicles in Turgovishte (northern Bulgaria) and artillery systems in Veliko Turnovo (northern Bulgaria). The delegation also includes an Italian, French, Greek and Romanian inspector. They will be accompanied by Bulgarian officers, the Ministry's Press Office added.

Captain Gordon Peterson, chief of information and public relations department with the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe Command, visited Blagoevgrad (southwestern Bulgaria) today. Mr. Peterson is heading a delegation which is on an official visit in Bulgaria at the invitation of the Bulgarian Defense Ministry. Today Captain Peterson delivered a lecture at the American University in Bulgaria before lecturers, students, journalists and military officials. The lecture focused on the contacts of the Army with the public and mass media.

The funds released within the framework of the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programme in the form of aid for Bulgarian agriculture (ecu 50 million since 1990) will be used primarily for assisting the land reform. New financial mechanisms will be worked out next year for attracting capital to the agricultural areas and for a possible setting up of special funds for joint ventures, Mr. Mark Franko, representative of the EC Commission from the department in charge of the PHARE programme, said at a press conference today. Following a competition, for the first time the PHARE department with the Bulgarian Ministry of Agriculture will be headed by Bulgarians.

All acts and bills providing for disqualification of people from occupied positions or impeding appointment to positions on the basis of formal membership in some organization or post occupied in the past are qualified as discriminatory by Helsinki Watch, reads a summary of the report of this organization presented to BTA today by the Ecoglasnost Political Club . Helsinki Watch believes that the abuses of the former regime should be punished but the means for achieving justice should conform with individual human rights so as not to become recurrences of the past. Helsinki Watch insists that the Bulgarian authorities refrain from passing such laws and on the repealing or amendment of the law on tie decommunization of science, known as the "Panev Act." [passage omitted]

Fifty of the total of 200 workers of Water Management Inc. in Montana (northwestern Bulgaria) have gone on efficient strike, the local BTA correspondent reported today. The strikers have not received their wages since March. They demand administration cuts in the company. [passage omitted]

Stoyan Ovcharov, former minister of economy and planning entered prison today to serve his nine-year sentence. He was convicted together with former Prime Minister Georgi Atanasov for illegal granting of financial aid from the national budget. [passage omitted]

Meeting Convened To Discuss Embargo

AU0609134793 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] On 6 September President Zhelyu Zhelev invited Prime Minister Lyuben Berov; Evgeni Matinchev, deputy prime minister; Stanislav Daskalov, minister of foreign affairs; Stoyan Aleksandrov, minister of finance; Kiril Ermenkov, minister of transportation; Krustyu Mirski, deputy chairman of the Communications Committee; Atanas Vulkanov, SO-MAT general director; and Mariyana Todorova, chairman of the Commission on the Foreign Debt, to a meeting, the president's Press Center reports.

Issues related to observing Resolution No. 820 of the UN Security Council and the possibilities of compensation for the grave damage inflicted on Bulgaria by the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro were discussed.

The participants in the meeting agreed that Bulgaria must continue to observe the embargo, because otherwise it could find itself in a serious international isolation, and even become itself the subject of an embargo. It was pointed out that the state institutions should insist on receiving indirect compensations for financing various projects in transportation and telecommunications, and alleviating the situation with Bulgaria's foreign debt.

President Zhelev stressed that all opportunities should be used for seriously posing this issue with the necessary arguments at bilateral meetings and meetings with international institutions, because our country has all political and moral reasons to demand and expect assistance at the present difficult period.

Intervention Ruled Out

AU0709113393 Munich FOCUS in German 6 Sep 93 p 172

[Article by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev: "No Peace Without Integration of Serbia"]

[Text] What is Bosnia? Graffiti on the walls of a post office in Sarajevo give the answer: "This is Serbia; this is Bosnia; this is a post office." I think that precisely the exchangeability of the concepts contains the real hope, liberation from the deadlock of the war that is raging more and more terribly.

Tito's Yugoslavia is dead and with it the old Bosnia-Herzegovina or, as an observer aptly put it: There is no Yugoslavia without Bosnia-Herzegovina and no Bosnia-Herzegovina without Yugoslavia.

The tragedy of Sarajevo is completely different from that of Kuwait. There it was the allies' task to reestablish the status quo and to expel the aggressor. There is also an aggressor here; but here there was a status quo that it would be pure illusion to reestablish.

Both in the West and in our country, the wish to bring an early end to the bloodshed frequently veils the question of what peace in Bosnia can be like. The end of war must provide the framework for the future peace, which can only mean a new ethnic coexistence.

The strategy of ethnic cleansing by the Serbian military is nothing but an attempt to create ethnic ghettos. According to some press reports, the purpose of mass rape is the conception of children of hatred, which would make any future compromise impossible.

Sometimes, however, the media themselves make themselves accomplices of the Serbs when they canvass for an all-or-nothing solution.

Hypnotized by the horrors of war, journalists refuse to perceive the existence of another, anti-Milosevic Serbia, which, however frustrated and discouraged it may be, harbors after all a spark of hope for the solution of the "conflict," as it is still called by the Western media today. One reason that the embargo again Serbia and Montenegro has not been effective is the fact that it drove large parts of the population under the murderous banner of greater Serbia.

As opposed to most of their critics, Vance and Owen have tried to answer the extremely difficult question of how Serbs, Croats, and Muslims can again live together.

In view of the latest developments, the hoped-for political implementation of the plan is becoming increasingly unlikely. Military intervention is looming larger than ever.

It would prove the failure of the previous, extremely lengthy efforts of the world community. On the other hand, the ideas of some pragmatists that Bosnia can be simply left to itself and it is enough to limit the conflict are as dangerous as they are cynical.

Aggression must be stopped, this is the prerequisite for the security of the whole region. The possibility of a "Munich Agreement" frightens me.

A military intervention in Bosnia could be turned into a punitive action against Serbia. Should this prove to be unavoidable, it would have to be implemented with the greatest caution for the protection of civilian targets and the Serbian population. The world community must not devote itself solely to victory over the aggressor, but also to Serbia's integration.

Another important component of Bulgaria's policy toward the war in Bosnia is the principle of absolute non-interference in the affairs of every Balkan state in the case of military action. Our participation in an intervention could only harm peace, whatever it will be like, since the Balkans is burdened by an almost indelible legacy of malevolence and suspicion.

For us Bulgarians, noninterference is a difficult decision—yet the only sensible one. At the risk of resembling the lunatic who wrote "This is a post office" at the post office in Sarajevo, I hope that the politicians in the Balkans will soon muster enough courage to think in terms of the future and not of the past.

Zhelev To Seek Compensation

AU0709094393 Sofia BTA in English 0823 GMT 7 Sep 93

[From BTA 7 September Press Review]

[Excerpt] Sofia, September 7 (BTA)—It is highly probable that President Zhelyu Zhelev will plead before the United Nations for compensating the losses sustained by Bulgaria from the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, the socialist DUMA daily writes today. The Bulgarian head of state is expected to address the 48th session of the UN General Assembly. The branch ministers have been instructed to prepare reports on the losses sustained by their branches which the president will use in preparing his address in New York. The Economic Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe approved the plan of Socialist MP Georgi Pirinski for a report on the Yugoembargo. Its first version will probably be discussed in late September and it may be passed in January next year, DUMA reports in the same article.

24 CHASA and OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK, which recently reported of a forthcoming dismissal of Counter-intelligence Chief Arlin Antonov, return to this topic today. A whole file of evidence proving the establishment of illegal structures for preparing discrediting materials on the order of the chief of the National Security Service Arlin Antonov has been handed over to President Zhelev, 24 CHASA reports citing senior officials of the Ministry of the Interior. Special groups were to be formed at the National Security Headquarters and in the Black Sea and Danubian areas to collect discrediting information about trade unionists, businessmen and politicians. Some of the information was to be reported personally to the chief of the National Security Service, without being recorded anywhere. Only Mr.

Antonov's incompetence in counterintelligence prevented the fulfillment of illegal political commissions, 24 CHASA writes on its front page. The president will hear out the national security chief.

In a commentary on the same topic the private OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK asks why the president did not sign a decree on the dismissal of Antonov when his resignation was demanded already by the former cabinet of Filip Dimitrov and why Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov who promoted him, now wants his resignation. "It is clear that one of the political forces supporting the government is seeking to place its own representative in the counterintelligence within the mandate of this cabinet," the commentary reads. The transparent machinations of politicians around the special services have once again raised the issue of who should exercise control over these services, OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK adds.

The decree relieving Colonel Arlin Antonov and the motives for this are already at the president's office who alone has the power to appoint and relieve directors of the national services within the system of the Ministry of the Interior on the proposal of the Council of Ministers, STANDART NEWS writes in the same connection citing sources of the Ministry of the Interior. According to its sources, Colonel Antonov will most probably be succeeded by Rumen Danov, former deputy at the Grand National Assembly and then adviser to the president. [passage omitted]

Daskalov Receives New Yugoslav Charge d'Affaires

AU0609163293 Sofia BTA in English 1217 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Sofia, September 6 (BTA)—Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov received today Prof. Dr. Rados Smilkovic who presented him a letter from the foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), Vladislav Jovanovic informing him of the appointment of Prof. Rados Smilkovic as charge d'affaires of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Sofia, the Press Office of the Foreign Ministry announced.

According to the Foreign Ministry Press Office, the two sides held brief talks expressing readiness to discuss, free of any prejudice, all issues of the relations between Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). In this context the Bulgarian side expressed its urgent insistence on finding a solution for freeing the two Bulgarian ships blocked near Belgrade on the Danube.

Leaders Meet With Russian Intelligence Chief

AU0309191693 Sofia BTA in English 1805 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Sofia, September 3 (BTA)—Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, director of Russia's External Intelligence Service, arrived in Sofia this morning. Mr. Aleksandr Avdeyev, ambassador of Russia to Bulgaria, told BTA that the visit is paid at the invitation of Bulgaria and more specifically of General Brigo Asparukhov, director of the National Intelligence Service. "The three-day visit is unofficial," Ambassador Avdeyev specified.

He believes that key areas of cooperation will be on Academician Primakov's agenda. "A lot of risks are emerging in the world for each country in particular and for the world community at large. I have in mind international terrorism and the growth of the drugs and arms trade, which destabilize the international situation and jeopardize the political interests of the two countries," Mr. Avdeyev said.

At Sofia Airport, Academician Primakov was welcomed by General Asparukhov and Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov.

Mr. Primakov held successive talks with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, President Zhelyu Zhelev, and Nikolay Slatinski, chairman of the Parliamentary National Security Committee. The guest told a BTA reporter he is on a working visit here.

Drug-trafficking, terrorism, organized crime and the attempts of the Bulgarian and the Russian Mafia to merge were on the agenda of the meeting between Dr. Zhelev and Mr. Primakov, presidential spokesman Valentin Stoyanov said. The sides exchanged views on the situation in the Balkans. The development of contacts between the special services was also discussed, Mr. Primakov said. The old stereotypes must not be restored, we will be working on a mutually advantageous basis and, of course, not against third countries, he said.

At his meeting with Mr. Primakov, Prime Minister Berov set forth the position of the Bulgarian Government on the observance of the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro. Bulgaria will continue to meet its commitments proceeding from international law but the world organizations are bound to consider this country's request for unimpeded transit transport through Serbia in view of the huge losses sustained by Bulgaria's economy, Mr. Berov said, according to the government spokesman. Mr. Berov and Mr. Primakov informed each other of the two countries' difficulties in the transition to a free-market economy and democratic society, the government spokesman said. They agreed Bulgaria and Russia could cooperate in the combating of international terrorism, drug trafficking and the Mafia structures of the two countries, as well as in the effort to maintain peace in the Balkans.

Mr. Nikolay Slatinski described his meeting with Mr. Primakov as a "polite exchange of ideas." The sides exchanged views on parliamentary control over the intelligence service's work, on illegal arms trafficking and cooperation on issues related to the Yugocrisis.

Primakov Meets With Berov

AU0309122193 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] BTA reports that a short while ago Prime Minister Lyuben Berov received Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service. The meeting was attended by General Brigo Asparukhov, director of the National Intelligence Service.

SDS Criticizes Zhelev's 'Attacks' on Movement

AU0709101393 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 1 Sep 93 p 1

["Statement of Union of Democratic Forces National Coordinating Council": "President Ignores Bulgaria's Problems"]

[Text] Exactly a year after his Boyana news conference President Zhelev again took the floor to discuss the same issues. Contrary to expectations that the president would organize a new "Boyana fields" news conference to unmask the policy of Berov's cabinet, which is lethal for our country and contradicts our national interests, he again, like last year, resumed his attacks against the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. It appears that Mr. Zhelev is unable to reassess his act of treason, and instead of directing his attention toward the country's serious problems he repeated his absurd thesis of 1992, which hardly anyone believes any longer.

The SDS asked the Bulgarian people for four years to implement its program and lead the country out of crisis. The voters gave the SDS the time it asked for, but only a year later it was deprived of the remaining time through actions behind the scenes, in which the president took an active part. His statement of 30 August again indicates his hope to weaken the SDS and install presidential groups and phantom parties in the political arena.

Contrary to what the president said in his statement, the SDS continues to be the greatest political force in the country. It is prepared to prove this in the upcoming early parliamentary elections and again assume the leadership role in Bulgaria after the elections.

National Assembly Session Opens 7 September

AU0709090493 Sofia BTA in English 2018 GMT 6 Sep 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, September 6 (BTA)—A ceremony and a tattoo at the Monument to the Unknown Soldier in Sofia this evening marked the 108th anniversary of the unification of the Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia. Under the Berlin Treaty signed after the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-1878, which led to the abolition of the five-century Turkish rule in Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia remained under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. The ceremony was attended by National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov, Premier Lyuben Berov, Defence Minister Valentin Aleksandrov, MP's, top brass and citizens.

At the National Assembly's first plenary sitting after the summer recess tomorrow, the MP's will be asked to ratify several international agreements and the Bills on the Value Added Tax and the Judiciary, the National Assembly Presidium decided at a meeting today, Aleksandur Dzherov, chairman of the Legislative Committee, told BTA. The presidium discussed proposals by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov to put a package of new bills on the agenda.

Starting tomorrow, the leadership of the parliamentary coalition led by the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) will hold a series of meetings with leaders of the other factions and cabinet representatives to harmonize positions on the priority bills sponsored by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, floor leader Nora Ananieva said after a meeting of socialist MP's today.

The MP's of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) today discussed their stand on the losses sustained by Bulgaria as a result of the implementation of the embargo on Serbia and Montenegro. Bulgaria should strictly observe the sanctions but it is essential to commit the international community to measures to strengthen the Bulgarian economy, at the present difficult time and after the embargo is lifted: In this way Nino Stavrev MP, member of parliament's National Security Committee, summed up today's debate.

At a meeting today, National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov and Czech Charge D'affaires Petr Pospisil discussed the preparations for the visit to Sofia from November 16 to 18 by the leader of the Czech National Council Milan Uhde, the National Assembly Press Office told BTA. [passage omitted]

Speaking to a national radio reporter, Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov today denied press reports he will tender a resignation these days.

The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions (KNSB), one of the two most influential trade union amalgamations in this country, insists that the issue of compensations for the losses sustained by Bulgaria as a result of the embargo on Serbia and Montenegro be considered and settled in the shortest possible term, says an address by KNSB President Krustyu Petkov to the European Commission, the Council of Europe and the UN Sanctions Committee. [passage omitted]

In a letter to the president, twenty-nine Bulgarian public figures, scientists and intellectuals, call on Dr. Zhelev to

exercise his right and pardon Georgi Atanasov, the former prime minister sentenced to ten years in prison last week for embezzlement of public funds. The letter, a copy of which was received at the BTA, says the president will thereby help improve public morals.

The Trade Union of Bulgarian Teachers today declared a strike alert and handed a letter to the cabinet and the Ministry of Education stating its demands. The teachers urge an updating of the budget for secondary education, a drafting of economic rules consistent with the interest of persons employed in education, an assignment of minimum quotas for education in the national budget and a centralization of the Wage Fund. No protests will be staged in the fourteen days pending an answer or during probable negotiations. Afterwards the teachers may resort to legal industrial action depending on the results of the talks, labour leaders and members of the Strike Committee told a press conference here today. [passage omitted]

At a regular press conference today, Petur Dertliev, leader of the extraparliamentary Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, agreed with the view voiced by President Zhelev in his televised interview last Saturday [4 September] that the land should be returned to lawful owners in real and not ideal boundaries. [passage omitted]

U.S. companies will explore opportunities to extract gas in Bulgarian coal fields, the Power Engineering Committee Press Office told BTA. This was agreed during last week's visit to the United States by Evgeny Angelov, first deputy chairman of the Power Engineering Committee. He negotiated with three U.S. corporations which agreed to conduct feasibility studies of gas extraction in the Dobrudzha, northern Bulgaria, and Bobov Dol, western Bulgaria, fields. [passage omitted]

National Bank Governor on Country's Finances

AU0509192293 Sofia BTA in English 1829 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] Sofia, September 5 (BTA)—The standby arrangement with the International Monetary Fund cannot be signed by the end of this month, as it is not ready, said Todor Vulchev, governor of the central Bulgarian National Bank (BNB). Speaking in the prime-time national television show Panorama last night, he said he would leave for talks in Washington. However, there are no more obstacles for this country to receive the second tranche of the structural adjustment loan (SAL) to the amount of 100 million dollars, he said. This is not so urgent, but it is a matter of prestige, the banker said. This country has to show it has done something to meet all the conditions, though it has been hard to comply with all quantity parameters, he said.

Unfortunately, the economy is weak and will remain so for some time, fortunately, its pulse is steady, Prof. Vulchev said. He put the depression down to external and internal factors, citing political uncertainty, small government revenues and inefficient bureaucracy. Among external factors, he named the embargo on former Yugoslavia, the partial blockade of Bulgaria's northern border, the unsettled relations with Western partners. Something has to be done, though the results can hardly be felt any time soon, the BNB governor said. He said this country was generally moving in the right direction. It is essential to speed up privatization and help the finance minister to raise more revenues, amounting to a larger part of the GNP. The government raises little money, and spends it to maintain largely obsolete structures in health care, education, the ministry of the interior, the Army, investment, etc., Prof. Vulchev said. The state is poor, yet it has settle the foreign debt and relations with international financial institutions, he stressed.

The relatively steady rate of exchange between the national currency and the U.S. dollar is an achievement, yet it should not be overpraised, the BNB governor observed. I would not be displeased with less stability, if the real economy was functioning better, he said. Regrettably, the foreign exchange reserve was not increased this summer, as projected, but it is sufficient to meet the country's pressing needs, Mr. Vulchev said.

Havel Denies Giving Interview to French Paper

AU0609163393 Prague CTK in English 1801 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Prague/Paris, September 1 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel did not give an interview to the French newspaper GLOBE HEBDO, Havel's spokesman Ladislav Spacek told CTK today.

The weekly published the supposed interview in its commentary section August 26. It gave the author as Adam Michnik and presented the material as an interview given exclusively for GLOBE HEBDO.

Analysis of the text, however, showed that the French paper printed excerpts from an interview given by Havel to Adam Michnik, editor-in-chief of the Polish daily GAZETA WYBORCZA, and published in that paper in mid-July, Spacek said. He added that the authenticity of the wording in GLOBE HEBDO is doubtful, because the office of the president was not consulted about, nor did it authorize the alleged interview published in the French paper, and the president's statements are distorted.

In the interview for GAZETA WYBORCZA, Havel evaluated the current social condition and tendencies of political development in the Czech Republic.

CNB Council Assesses Economic Development

AU0709101793 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 3 Sep 93 p 2

["MS"-signed report: "Economic Recovery Continues, Particularly in Services"]

[Text] At its meeting yesterday, the Czech National Bank [CNB] Banking Council assessed the economic and monetary development in July and in the first seven months of the year. It noted that manifestations of a partial economic recovery continue making themselves felt, particularly in services.

The monetary development in the first half of the year took the projected course. Total money supply increased by 71 billion korunas in the first seven months of the year, with bank credits extended to companies and households accounting for the lion's share of this growth. The decisive portion of new credits is geared toward the private sector. Following their decline in July, interest rates on the interbank money market are now stable.

The Banking Council devoted particular attention to the development of the Czech Republic's balance of payments in the first half of the year. It noted that the foreign exchange situation has further improved in this difficult period. The current account of the balance of payments in freely convertible currencies showed a surplus of $321 million in the first half of the year, which was contributed to by a 7.8 percent increase in exports, compared with the first half of 1992. Imports increased as well, particularly imports of machinery and equipment, which signals importers' increased investment activity.

Direct foreign investment reached the amount of approximately $400 million in the first half of 1993, which is less than originally estimated. The volume of direct financial credits drawn by companies abroad increased, however. Foreign investors' and creditors' trust has been reinforced by [credit] ratings carried out by Moody's JBRI and Standard and Poor's, two distinguished firms that have both rated the Czech Republic as a country suitable for investment and placed it at the head of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

At the end of the first half of 1993, the CNB's foreign exchange reserves reached a level sufficient to cover three months worth of the Czech Republic's imports. They stand at $2.9 billion. The commercial banks' foreign exchange reserves amount to another approximately $2.5 billion. The favorable development of the Czech Republic's foreign exchange situation confirms the justification of the koruna's rate of exchange against freely convertible currencies. Securing the stability of this exchange rate also in future will be continue being one of the priority targets of the CNB's monetary policy in the foreign exchange sphere.

Timetable Given for Second Privatization Wave

LD0609164693 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Excerpt] The first bidding round of the second privatization wave is to begin on 1 February next year, Tomas Jezek, chairman of the National Property Fund, said today. Marie Ruzickova has more details:

[Ruzickova] The National Property Fund will endorse the last privatization project earmarked for the second wave on 31 October. All joint-stock companies are to be established by 1 December and the offer is to be finalized by 10 January, when the list will be published of enterprises earmarked for the second wave of the coupon privatization. According to Tomas Jezek, it is, however, uncertain whether it will be possible to stick to this timetable. The reason is that coalmines are causing a big worry to the National Property Fund. Unless their assets are updated in time, the whole timetable will have to be delayed.

In contrast to the first wave, citizens will be able to compare the state of the property of the privatized enterprises in two half years, and they will thus be able to examine the management of the company in question. The National Property Fund has also suspended the offer of the stock it holds for the sale on the capital market. One of the reasons for this decision was on the one hand the allegedly sufficient liquidity of the fund as well as an analysis worked out in cooperation with investment funds, according to which shares in some companies were sold at a price which did not correspond

to the real economic situation in the company and were thereby damaging to it. [passage omitted]

State To Process, Deposit Radioactive Waste

LD0609203193 Prague CTK in English 1955 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Prague Sept 6 (CTK)—The state will be responsible for the safe processing and depositing of radioactive waste, under a law currently being prepared. The experts drafting the law have taken this step because they feel a company producing such wastes can go bankrupt at any time, Jiri Marek, advisor to the Czech minister of trade and industry, said today.

He remarked that an owner of a nuclear power plant must include a certain sum for covering the costs of processing and storing spent nuclear fuel into the plant's production costs. 0.10 of a crown is therefore currently added to the cost of a kilowatt-hour of electricity produced in a nuclear power plant, Marek explained.

He said that this money would be concentrated in a fund which should be administered by a newly created organisation. This agency should cover all activities connected with nuclear energy, from charging an organisation to carry out research and development projects to the final construction of radioactive waste dumps and the liquidation of the nuclear power plant. The entire life of such project from its beginning to the final deposit of spent nuclear fuel is approximately 40 years, Marek said. He remarked that the law is based on the principle that radioactive waste must remain on the territory of the country which produced it. It is not a commodity which can be exported, he remarked.

It was recently supposed that spent nuclear fuel would be sent to countries of the former Soviet Union. However, the Czech Republic abandoned such plans because the Russian side wanted too much money for depositing radioactive waste. And besides, each contract can be cancelled at any time and the waste might unexpectedly remain in the Czech Republic, Marek concluded.

Absence of Ambassadors in Hungary, U.S. Criticized

AU0609162093 Prague CTK in English 0834 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Excerpt] Bratislava, Sept 3 (CTK)—The independent NARODNA OBRODA turns its attention today to diplomacy. It observes that in the three-quarters of a year that Slovakia has existed, Vladimir Meciar's government has not been able to appoint ambassadors to such important countries as USA, Germany, Hungary, France, and so on.

In the interest of political security as well as economics, one of the most important tasks is to normalize relations with Hungary, the daily believes. Whereas Budapest has appointed the veteran Slovak-expert Jeno Boros, Bratislava has evidently still left open the possibility of sending the increasingly unpopular and increasingly unacceptable Minister of Health Viliam Sobona.

In every country there is an unbreakable rule stating that all political parties, especially those in parliament, should contribute to the country's foreign policy. But consensual politics on personnel will not be possible as long as the dubious practice continues whereby all ambassadorial candidates are approved by the leadership of the governing Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). [passage omitted]

New Ambassadors Proposed

LD0609201493 Prague CTK in English 1920 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Bratislava, Sept 6 (CTK)—Slovak Radio Deputy Director Michal Berko has been proposed for the post of Slovak ambassador to Germany, sources close to the cabinet told CTK today.

Director of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Branislav Lichardus, should be appointed Slovak ambassador to the U.S.A., CTK learnt from the same source.

The Foreign Ministry's spokesman Roman Buzek refused to comment on this information.

Meciar Defends Record, Criticizes Carnogursky

LD0509194093 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] Vladimir Meciar, prime minister and chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], has said that statements made by Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], at last Saturday's meeting of the KDH council in Bratislava are proof that the KDH is continuing with a destructive policy and is rejecting cooperation of any kind. Carnogursky said, among other things, that the basic problem of the current internal political situation in the Slovak Republic lies in the fact that Slovakia still has a minority government and that the HZDS is causing a process of disintegration in Slovakia.

In an interview given to the press agency of the Slovak Republic, the prime minister recalled that the KDH has always had a negative attitude to all processes that helped establish the Slovak Republic, starting with the adoption of the declaration on sovereignty through to the voting on the constitution right up to the very emergence of the Slovak state. This policy of the worse the better is socially very harmful and it is nonsensical to continue with it, Vladimir Meciar remarked.

Vladimir Meciar also rejected Jan Carnogursky's claim that the HZDS is causing a process of disintegration in the Slovak Republic and that the government is incapable of making any important decision. He recalled that the Slovak parliament has approved an updated government's program and that the cabinet is regularly including in it all proposals designed to help resolve the economic situation.

Meciar Addresses Hungarian Parties' Concerns

LD0509195693 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1710 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Television address by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in Bratislava on 5 September—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Good evening, dear fellow citizens. Slovakia is a beautiful country with beautiful people and a lot of culture. Apart from the basic Slovak culture, the cultures of minorites—the Hungarian, the Romany, the Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Czech, Polish, and German—are developing. The multitude of cultures makes possible mutual influence. It is in this influence that we seek guarantees of dynamism of our future development, we seek certainty that everybody can develop freely in the conditions existing in the Slovak Republic. Naturally, for such cooperation to be possible there must be harmony of interests, there should not be conflict of interests and conflict of cultures, but alternating and influencing and preserving the uniqueness and sovereignty. [passage omitted]

I received a letter this week which was signed by representatives of the Hungarian political parties. Specifically, there are signatures of Miklos Duray, Bela Bugar, Duka Arpad Zolyomi, Pal Csaky, Laszlo Nagy, and Gyula Popelyi. It is not the only letter that I got from these gentlemen, but I have to mention this particular letter because of when it was written and because of its contents, which are presented there. You had the opportunity to get aquainted with the contents in the press.

The first question which arises is what the aim of the authors of this letter is. Do they want good, do they want peace, stability and reasonable discussion about internal problems? Do they have an idea about how the legislation is developing? I do not doubt that they have an idea, but I wonder whether they do not conciously conceal the state of work before other organs.

There is another question to be asked, namely, why do the Hungarian representatives approach the European

Council directly, without any internal debate at home? Moreover, there is the question of the contents. Why are they misleading? Why do they not tell the truth? Why will we have to prove again in Strasbourg or in Brussels that everything is different. They also harm the Hungarian minority they represent. [passage omitted]

Why is it the case that within the Hungarian minority there is a constant effort to be against, an effort to incite confrontation between the state and citizens? It is neither wise nor good.

Allow me please to focus on some parts of the letter as it stands here. First of all, these gentlemen did not say the truth when writing that Slovakia did not want to honor its pledges taken on joining the Council of Europe. It was agreed that the deadline for the adoption of relevant legal measures was six months. This deadline is not over yet. The process has not been completed yet. Therefore, it is misleading to speak about this process as if it had been completed and finalized. [passage omitted]

The thing is that the political representatives clearly demand that there be two names of villages, i.e. not one name in two languages but two names. That is something quite different. The Hungarian minority and its representatives have to take into consideration that 1939-1945 left a bad trace on our national conscience. The occupation of southern territories and the persecution of Slovaks for their nationality, which was neither the first nor the last persecution in this century, result in our unwillingness to revive in southern Slovakia the place names from the period 1938-45. This was the time of the onset of fascism in Slovakia which began by the sadly known anniversary to be remembered soon, i.e. 2 November 1938, the date of Vienna arbitrage.

The government will present an acceptable law, a law that will make it possible to express the name of a place in a particular language. I believe that parliament will adopt this law. [passage omitted]

The law and the Constitution protect minorities in that they guarantee minorities' rights. But they should not demand mandatory Hungarian language classes in Slovak-language schools. That, perhaps, is going too far.

Documents of the ministry and opinions held by the former Education Minister Kucera included the possibility of an alternative school system in Slovakia, the idea behind this being that the humanities would be taught in Hungarian and the sciences would be taught in Slovak. However, it was not put down as something mandatory or as an intervention on the part of the state. It was meant only as the right of the state to create a chance for the parents to decide whether they would like something similar.

The Constitution guarantees education in the mother tongue. It is totally useless to doubt the Constitution. Instruction in Hungarian is guaranteed by the Constitution and the state. However, allocating and extending choices towards other alternatives is not an unconstitutional step. It is up to the citizen to use or not to use his right. It cannot be forced upon him. However, we have to materially guarantee this right of a citizen. [passage omitted]

I would like to underline that the Hungarian nation used its right for self-determination by creating the Hungarian Republic. The Slovak used this right by creating the Slovak Republic as a state. Let us respect this and let us acknowledge these facts. This, however, does not mean that we are creating the state on national principle. We are creating it following the principle of creating a balance of interests and the principle of citizenship. This principle of citizenship takes priority. A Slovak Hungarian is a citizen of the Slovak Republic, he lives here.

The letter goes on to say that if the Slovak Government fails to observe the recommendations given by the Council of Europe it can have far-reaching consequences in Hungarian circles. [passage omitted] This is not the first letter and, as I know them, probably not the last one of its kind. In any case, if these gentlemen gave a written testimony of this kind it was not a testimony about the state and its legislation. These gentlemen merely gave a testimony to themselves and to their intentions. I invite you to try and think about it.

Parties Protest Statement on Names

LD0609213093 Prague CTK in English 1933 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Bratislava, Sept 6 (CTK)—The Hungarian Civic Party (MOS) considers extremely unsuitable Premier Vladimir Meciar's drawing connections between the historic Hungarian names of the south Slovak communities, and the Horthyite Hungary and south Slovakia's status between 1938 and 1945, the MOS statement, communicated to CTK today, says.

(Admiral Miklos Horthy ruled Hungary between 1920 and 1944. In 1938 Hungary occupied largely Hungarian-inhabited south Slovakia—ed.)

If we proceeded in line with this sort of arguments, all the Slovak communities would have to be renamed as their current official names had existed under the state which collaborated with the nazis (Slovak state which existed from 1939 and 1945 -ed.), writes the statement.

The ethnic Hungarian citizens demand the historic Hungarian names as part of the bilingual system because they make part of their life and are inseparably linked to the sentiment of home, the extraparliamentary MOS asserts.

In this connection, the MOS representatives are referring to the international conventions while stressing that it is an integral right of a community's dwellers to determine its name.

Last night, Meciar said on Slovak tv that the 1938 to 1945 era had had a negative impact on Slovak national

consciousness because south Slovakia had been occupied. This leads us not to repeat the names from the period, claimed Meciar.

In a statement for CTK, the leadership of another ethnic Hungarian party, Parliamentary Egyutteles, voiced its concern over Meciar's statements which escalated the tension in south Slovakia and brought intolerance and rancour into society. It is, first of all, the premier himself as well as his government's members who are hurting Slovakia's interests as they are not willing to settle the legal status of ethnic minorities living in Slovakia, reads the statement.

The statement also asserts that Meciar and his cabinet are openly abusing representatives of the ethnic Hungarian parties and resort to personal attacks. They are questioning the right of parliamentarians and politicians of the ethnic Hungarian parties to represent their voters, Hungarians living in Slovakia.

The government members, pretending to protect the interests of the Slovak nation, are rejecting the proposals, demands and declarations of the ethnic Hungarian political parties instead of searching for ways of meeting the justified demands by the ethnic minorities, claims the statement.

Foreign Ministry Statement

AU0709094093 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 3 Sep 93 p 4

[TA SR report: "Standpoint of the Government of the Slovak Republic on the Hungarian Political Parties' Letter"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic has instructed Ambassador Eva Mitrova, head of the Permanent Mission of the Slovak Republic to the Council of Europe, to convey to Catherine Lalumiere, general secretary of the Council of Europe, the Slovak Government's official response to the letter that Hungarian political parties in Slovakia addressed to Council of Europe representatives and constitutional officials of the Slovak Republic on 31 August 1993.

According to the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs' statement, Ambassador Eva Mitrova is to inform representatives of the Council of Europe that the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] and the Slovak Government will proceed according to the rules of parliamentary democracy when adopting and implementing legislative measures stemming from the membership of the Slovak Republic in the Council of Europe.

The Slovak side deems it inappropriate to question the Slovak Republic's course of action in this sphere only two months after its admission to the Council of Europe. The Government of the Slovak Republic is convinced that transferring the debate on some partial issues to the Council of Europe does not contribute to creating optimal conditions for achieving a solution, particularly in a situation when the possibilities for a dialogue within the state have not been exhausted.

Regarding the position of the Government of the Slovak Republic on individual objections raised by the Hungarian political parties, Ambassador Eva Mitrova has been authorized to inform the Council of Europe representatives as follows:

—changes regarding the local designation of communities have been carried out throughout the territory of the Slovak Republic with the aim of bringing road signs into harmony with currently valid legal norms, that is, they have not been carried out exclusively in areas with a higher proportion of inhabitants of Hungarian nationality. The Government of the Slovak Republic is currently preparing regulations that will permit the bilingual designation of towns and communities.

—the educational system for members of the Hungarian ethnic minority in the Slovak Republic is organized in the form of monolingual and bilingual schools and kindergartens with Hungarian as the language of instruction. Proceeding from the UN Charter on the Rights of Children, steps have been taken this year to introduce alternative Hungarian schools with the aim of giving the parents the opportunity to chose a suitable school for their children. The introduction of this measure does not curtail, but expands, possibilities regarding the choice of a suitable school for children of members of the Hungarian ethnic minority.

—the passage of the law on the use of names and surnames is subject to the legislative process. It is expected that another debate on this law will take place at the first NRSR autumn session. All members of parliament, including representatives of the Hungarian minority and the Hungarian political parties, will have an opportunity to deliver their opinion on this law in a democratic fashion.

—the assessment [in the NRSR] of the draft constitutional law regulating the position of ethnic minorities in the Slovak Republic is premature, as the discussion on it is only in its initial phase. Also, there is no reason to doubt the democratic nature of the debate on, and approval of, this law, states the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs release.

Hungarians Accused

AU0609162293 Prague CTK in English 1417 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Bratislava, September 2 (CTK)— The behavior and actions of several representatives of Hungarian political parties in Slovakia amount to an expression of latent nationalism, Slovak National Party (SNS) Deputy Chairman Anton Hrnko said at a press conference today.

He said that these representatives refused to respect the legal status of the Slovak Republic and were trying to drive a wedge between citizens of Slovak and Hungarian nationality. Hrnko compared their activities to the political practices of [Sudeten German leader] Konrad Henlein which led to the breakdown of political stability and the start of the Second World War.

The SNS, said First Deputy Chairman Stefan Uhrik, believes that schools with Hungarian as the only language of instruction should be funded by the Hungarian national minority itself. Meetings of parents who do not want their children to be taught Slovak are, he said, violating the fundamental rights of children.

The SNS also opposes the establishment of a Ministry of Information, but would welcome a government agency which would give out objective news about Slovakia.

Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Deputy Chairman Roman Zelenay brought up the need to create a Ministry of Information in Slovakia at yesterday's meeting of the HZDS, saying that it was necessary to give out information about Slovakia abroad. He also stressed that the information which this ministry would give out could help draw foreign capital to the Slovak Republic.

Hrnko said that Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's constant attacks on the SNS were motivated by the fact that the premier did not want to carry out the resolution of the HZDS Presidium to continue coalition talks with the SNS. We did not put forward anything which would discredit the SNS at coalition talks with the HZDS, Hrnko said.

Hrnko also said that he believed it was possible that the planned removal of Anna Nagyova from the post of director of the Secretariat of the Office of the Slovak Premier is to be carried out on the basis of a letter sent to Meciar by SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak.

Hrnko said that he had only heard about the contents of the letter, and had not read it himself.

Cernak sent the letter to Meciar after the premier publicly accused him of demanding one million Sk [Slovak korunas] during coalition talks between the SNS and Meciar's ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS).

[Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 3 September on page 3 carries a 100-word TA SR report entitled "No Invectives Against Anna Nagyova." According to the report, in an interview for the TA SR, SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak denied Hrnko's speculations about his letter to Prime Minister Meciar, asserting that "the personal letter that I addressed to Prime Minister Meciar at the beginning of August did not contain any invectives against Anna Nagyova, director of his Secretariat."]

Hungary Seen as 'Source of Tension'

AU0309163693 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 28 Aug 93 pp 8-9

[Interview with Anton Hrnko, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Party and member of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Foreign Affairs Committee, by Lubo Mestanek; place and date not given: "Atavisms and the Crowing of a Rooster Who Has Lost His Feathers"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Mestanek] Could you comment on our southern neighbor's "Greater Hungary" ambitions?

[Hrnko] Hungarian policy reminds me of the crowing of a balding rooster on a heap of dung who would like to play at world-power politics but who has already lost too many feathers and who also sees that the surrounding heaps of dung are bigger and the roosters on them mostly stronger. I believe that precisely those poorly concealed ambitions represent the source of tension in the Central European region. But I am equally convinced that every realistically minded Hungarian politician who is well-meaning and sincere toward the Hungarian nation, and Hungarians in Europe in general, must realize that the only policy that can secure long-term political peace and economic prosperity in Central Europe is a policy of the unchangeability of borders and respect for the legitimate interests of all of one's neighbors. If we attain such a situation, a state of mutual trust, then also the problem of minorities will find itself at a completely different level than is the case now, when the domestic political forces in countries with a Hungarian minority view this minority as a potential source of tension and an instrument of asserting the power interests of another state within their own. If Hungary does not stop this policy, then I do not see in the foreseeable future any solution to the minority problems in those countries. As far as Slovakia is concerned, however, I am fully convinced about the loyalty of the majority of Hungarian fellow citizens toward our state.

Treatment of Slovaks in Hungary Protested

AU0309154693 Prague CTK in English 0851 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Bratislava, Sept 2 (CTK)—When our telltales turn once again to the Council of Europe they should bear in mind that when their grievances find themselves alongside news of the position of Slovaks in Hungary, they suddenly look like ludicrously boastful parties, SMENA, a daily close to the governing Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), writes today in connection with a letter from Hungarian parties.

If September 1st of all days was chosen as a day for tale-telling, the article continues, they should consider what happened to 197 children in Sari, near Budapest: The teaching of Slovak was canceled. The Slovak news

agency TA SR reports that the school was declared a church school without the villagers even being consulted.

The daily believes that the Slovak Government will regard the incident merely as a domestic matter for Hungary and will not get involved. The government does not take care of its own. Again it has forgotten to draw a lesson from its southern neighbor. It would cry out and be heard even in Strasbourg. Representatives of Hungarian parties in Slovakia fairly regularly appear in the Hungarian mass media. Hungary holds a protective hand over them. Who protects the Slovaks dying out in Hungary or Poland? Nobody. And this is the reason for the trembling ground beneath their feet, the daily observes.

Appeal to Constitutional Court

AU0309141693 Prague CTK in English 2013 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Bratislava, August 31 (CTK)—Roman Hofbauer, Slovak minister of transport, communications and public works sent a letter to Chairman of the Constitutional Court Milan Cic asking him to look into the legal and constitutional implications of the various new road signs appearing on state highways, Slovak Radio said this evening.

The minister's request concerns informational signs and road signs which business people, mayors and local authorities have been putting up. His letter stresses that the official titles of districts and towns cannot be changed, because it would lead to orientation problems.

Defense Ministry Official on Arms Reduction Commitments

LD0309201593 Prague CTK in English 1947 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Bratislava, Sept 3 (CTK)—The Slovak Republic sticks to all commitments stemming from international agreements concerning the reduction of the Slovak Army's manpower and the amount of equipment and armaments, Blazena Zimanova, a spokeswoman for the Slovak Defence Ministry told CTK.

She quoted the view expressed by Hans Loquai, director of the verification centre of the German Bundeswehr.

The cooperation between the Slovak Office for Disarmament Monitoring and Bundeswehr's verification center has been going on for six months, during which time Loquai made several visits to Slovakia. The Germans pledged their help in solving problems concerning the disarmament of the Air Force and chemical warfare units as well as teaching the Slovak professionals foreign languages.

The German delegation led by Loquai also visited the Slovak Foreign Ministry's section for multilateral cooperation, which is also involved in the disarmament process.

Czech Prime Minister Praises Slovak Economic Reform

AU0309194093 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 1 Sep 93 p 1

[TA SR report: "Vaclav Klaus Says After Returning from Sweden: Slovak Reform Equal to the Czech"]

[Text] Prague—"The basic reform steps taken by Slovakia are completely identical with those taken in the Czech Republic, and Slovakia is, in this regard, ahead of, rather than behind, the other post-communist countries," Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus told a news conference yesterday. He was speaking after his return from an official visit to Sweden. According to the Czech prime minister, this is also how he replied to many questions from Swedish politicians, deputies, and reporters, who took a lively interest in the situation in Slovakia. He said that "this information came as a surprise to them and aroused considerable attention." Klaus said that his comments [made in Sweden] on the breakup of Czechoslovakia, as presented in the media, were torn out of context. They definitely cannot endanger Slovakia's reputation abroad, in his opinion. "Had I been asked whether the division of Czechoslovakia was in Czech interest, my reply would have been a definite no. But the question was not formulated in this way in the context of the discussion [with Swedish reporters]," Vaclav Klaus stressed.

Environmental Agreement Signed With Romania

LD0509205093 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] The official visit of Minister Zlocha to Bucharest was concluded today by the signing of an agreement on cooperation between the Slovak Ministry of the Environment and the Romanian Ministry of Environment, Forestry, and Water Resources. After his return to Bratislava the minister said that the agreement would facilitate cooperation in measuring harmful substances in the atmosphere, their reduction, the protection of the quality of surface and underground water, waste management, protection of nature and territorial development as well as improving the expertise of technical staff.

Publishers Launch New English-Language Monthly

AU0309164293 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 2 Sep 93 p 2

[TA SR report in the "Briefly" column]

[Text] The first issue of the illustrated monthly SLOVAKIA was published yesterday. The new English-language periodical is intended for foreign readers and is published in the TA SR Pressfoto publishing house.

Antall Emphasizes Importance of Security

AU0309133093 Budapest MTI in English 1048 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, 2 September (MTI)—The Budapest conference of the European Democratic Union (EDU), which rallies the Christian democratic and conservative parties of the continent, opened in Budapest on Thursday [2 September].

Welcoming the politicians, Austrian Vice-Chancellor Alois Mock, [as received; Erhard Busek is Austrian vice-chancellor] who is the EDU chairman, said the common task of members was to support the transformation efforts of Europe's new democracies, so that strong democracies with prosperous economies would exist throughout Europe.

EDU was committed to European unity, which is why it continued its efforts towards this, Mock said.

As host, Hungary's Prime Minister Jozsef Antall was the first to address the conference. Antall, who is chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) and deputy-chairman of the EDU, said it was a great honor for Hungary to be the first East-Central European country to host the conference.

Analyzing the European transformation, Antall said: "We live in an historical age, in which world wars and new ideologies and political systems have followed one another in a few generations, in which our dynamic world has always brought newer and newer changes, and in which events taking place around us have compelled us to be in a constant state of alert, to act in a level-headed manner and to make serious decisions.

"These are unique moments in history, ones that have to be grasped. One such moment was the unification of Germany. We are proud that Hungary, holding up its inheritance of 1956 to the world, was able to promote the creation of German unity, which also implied the creation of European unity," Antall said.

Discussing the European Democratic Union, Antall said members of the organization were frequently accused of not being sufficiently modern or of not being able to keep up with the world's development.

However, he said, conservatism implied an approach to life that shaped the present by relying on the past—by accepting your roots and the past. It was a view that showed liberal tolerance for those who thought in a different manner, thereby ensuring the greatest possible freedom of the spirit and ideas. A Christian approach to life should be there with its own characteristics.

"In other words, the conservative way of thinking excludes dictatorships, totalitarian systems and violence," the prime minister said.

Referring to tensions that had accompanied the continent's recent transformation, Antall said security was the first and foremost problem to be solved. The only road leading to this was to speed up European integration, which would ease and prevent a latent crises. Here, preventive diplomacy was needed.

Although East-Central European countries should mainly solve their problems themselves, they did need assistance, Antall said, with the three-tiered expansion of the European Community a necessity. Under this, European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries would be integrated in the first phase, followed by the Visegrad group (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia) and then by the other European countries, while the EDU could serve as a catalyst.

Antall took a stand on safeguarding and expanding the role of NATO. Now, with Russia's political life dominated by reformers led by President Yeltsin, all efforts should be aimed at putting together a timetable to expand NATO's borders in the political, legal, organizational and, ultimately, military senses.

Antall recommended approval of the Russian position that no longer opposed NATO membership of East-Central European states, recognizing that this was also in the interest of Russian reform forces: Stable states should be found in East-Central Europe which did not provide encouragement for Russian believers in restoration to undertake new adventures.

Antall To Undergo 'More Prolonged' Medical Treatment

AU0709102793 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Sep 93 p 1

[Correspondent's report: "Antall: Continued Medical Treatment"]

[Text] According to information reaching NEPSZABADSAG from various sources, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's doctors think that the prime minister might need more time-consuming medical treatment as early as this autumn. His visit to Germany also served to prepare him for this treatment.

Jozsef Antall was operated on in the autumn of 1990. After examining the tissues surgically taken from the lymphatic gland, the doctors came to the conclusion that Jozsef Antall is suffering from an initial stage of a so-called "non-Hodgkins" lymphoma.

The necessary medical treatments have become more prolonged lately and it was impossible to predict exactly when the prime minister will be suitable for work and protocol programs again after these treatments. At the same time, Jozsef Antall continued to fulfill his tasks and did not go on vacation in 1991 or 1992. According to the valid regulations, both on longer tours and cases of longer absence, Interior Minister [Peter] Boross fills in for the prime minister. Answering questions about our information, the government spokesman said he had nothing to say about the prime minister's condition.

Boross Interviewed on Domestic Situation, Prospects

AU0309202693 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 3 Sep 93 p 4

[Interview with Interior Minister Peter Boross by Jozsef Danyi; place and date not given: "I Have Confidence in This Nation's Wisdom"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Danyi] Hungarian political life has accelerated after the summer holiday. Opposing emotions emerged before the fall session of the Hungarian Parliament. The meeting in Szarszo and its interpretation by the opposition seemed to have focused on discrediting the government coalition and the government. Is it really possible to formulate the basic political forces in Hungary today?

[Boross] I think that there are political forces that are active in a determined area and they consistently represent their political views. There are also forces that are active on a rather eclectic and emotional basis, and they participate in the domestic political life with a certain degree of uncertainty. Our government, our coalition majority that has been governing this country for almost three and one half years shows a particular lability. Both left-wing and right-wing extremist trends are directing assault fire on the government and the government majority, which are naturally carrying the burdens and dealing with the problems. Nor should we be surprised that this right-wing trend works mostly with slogans and "nice national promises" and it also finds contacts with the left-wing.

These trends are not living principles and they do not move on a path determined by firm values; emotions, and often hatred and a drastic use of words and curses characterize these trends. I must stress that this is nothing new in Hungarian political life, namely that the government, the accepted center-right system of ideas, and the Christian European line are so angrily attacked from both the right and left. However, it is only possible to govern with moderate thoughtfulness. The aforementioned forces are not suitable for organizing the country and for the innumerable daily struggles. These trends, mainly the extreme right-wing ones, will lose their breath sooner or later, and it will become clear that there is no action program behind their words. Perhaps the same applies to the left-wing, and I also question their ability to govern. [passage omitted]

[Danyi] The preparations for next year's elections have begun. The coalition intentions of the big parties, including the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], can be an important question, all the more so because, contrary to the elections held in 1990 when the MDF obtained more than 40 percent of the mandates, any party can count on a much smaller percentage in the elections scheduled for 1994. What cooperation intentions and possibilities do you envisage in the course of preparations for the elections and after that?

[Boross] I feel optimistic: This nation will realize in this remaining period of time that, with both our virtues and mistakes, we are the ones who represent the only possible government alternative, one that is also in harmony with the Hungarian spirit. If the election results turn out to be as you suggested in your question, the MDF will have to decide on the role it wants to fulfill. No position has yet emerged on that, and I am now telling you my own personal opinion. The MDF cannot make an alliance with trends that are foreign and far from its ideals and basic values, and the MDF cannot make an alliance that would force it to, partially or fully, give up its ideals and principles. However, I have confidence in the wisdom of this nation. The MDF suffered a lot of traumas, but those who distanced themselves from the MDF and those who are now angrily attacking the MDF slowly prove themselves incapable of becoming a serious political factor, because they are not suitable for such a role. [passage omitted]

[Danyi] At a criminology congress held recently, you said that crime and the connected security, and the struggle against crime also occupy a distinguished place among the strategic issues of the Hungarian Government and Hungarian politicians. How did the change in the regime affect the crime situation and criminal investigation, and what can we understand by the government's public safety development strategy?

[Boross] It is a proved fact that the stronger or weaker versions of totalitarian dictatorship greatly hinder crime. By limiting the citizens' movement and by limiting the citizens' freedom, these regimes provide greater means for the various bodies of criminal investigation. When the conditions of bourgeois democracy appear in public life, together with the personal rights, unfortunately the conditions of crime also become more favorable. We can see this process in Hungary and in all the neighboring countries. Hungary has the advantage that the increase in crime came to a halt in 1992. Naturally, the citizens do not notice this too much; they start from their own sense of danger, rather than from statistics. [passage omitted]

[Danyi] The number of deputies in the MDF-faction in Parliament is decreasing. The departure of some people can now make the following question timely again: Could a government crisis emerge?

[Boross] Legislative history knows the existence of minority governments, and this is a very bad thing because it is full of very hard compromises. At the same time, the two-thirds majority is less known. Both are problematic under the conditions of parliamentarism. The various departures and changes of factions can really cause problems if the persons involved find it natural to always vote against their former colleagues, and when their votes are dictated by bitterness and enmity, rather than by the issue itself. Although this is an attitude not worthy of parliamentary deputies, we must take this possibility into consideration. However, I have confidence in the people who want to wait for next year's

elections and refrain from creating a situation in which the government and the premier are forced to say that this is it, and the nation should decide through elections. However, I cannot exclude such a scenario if the government is seriously hindered in its actions.

According to Hungarian political life, only the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] has an interest in holding early elections, because it has an active network through the activization of the old organizations or persons of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Jeszenszky Interviewed

LD0509180693 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Pal Lakatos; place and date not given; from the "Sunday Paper" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky is preparing to go to Moscow and Bucharest. History, not only from the distant past, has given us some bitter experience: there is no sterile foreign policy which can be separated from a country's inner relations and political life. Therefore, at the beginning of his interview Pal Lakatos asked the foreign minister about the impact of some domestic issues abroad. [passage omitted]

[Lakatos] Was there any reaction to the open letter to the European Democratic Union [EDU] representatives from the Hungarian Justice Party and the Hungarian Way Movement?

[Jeszenszky] I would tell you if there had been any reaction to it. Not only did nobody raise the issue in front of me or at the plenary session, but also, I think, the tone of the document and its unbelievable accusations qualify themselves. Experienced, professional politicians were here who could differentiate between a real and fictional infraction of law or magnification of issues. [passage omitted]

[Lakatos] In his opening speech, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, one of the deputy chairmen of the EDU, spoke about NATO. He said the schedule of joining NATO has to be worked out. Chancellor Kohl told Polish Prime Minister Suchocka that they want to talk about the future of the Central-Eastern European countries as early as January [1994] .

[Jeszenszky] I think it would be a very big mistake if they did not grasp the opportunity and hold negotiations on this. But they will, and even if statements which makes this easier—such as [Russian President] Yeltsin's statement in Warsaw—had not been made in the recent days, this would have been on agenda as well. When I was in Brussels some months ago visiting NATO General Secretary Woerner, these questions had already come up. The new Europe, the new world can bring new dangers as well, and not only military dangers, the dangers obvious in the south Slav crisis, but also [in the field of] environment protection, economic security, and energy supply. NATO deals with all this and NATO is open. Though it has not admitted, let us say, the Warsaw Pact, NATO has brought it in into a cooperation council. Therefore, NATO means security for its members and also for those wanting to join it. This not only means an advantage for us; it would also stabilize Central Europe and would revive its economy, because an investor has more courage if a country is under the aegis of NATO.

However, it is in Europe's interest as well, because security has to be expanded. It is no good having an uncertain no-man's land in the middle of Europe. I am convinced that it is also in Russia's interests, because a stabile Central Europe is beneficial for Russia economically—nobody in Russia should think that anybody is threatening Russia—and it also paves the way for putting Russia into better touch with international cooperation. And, as a matter of fact, even if I do not think that Russia will become a member of NATO soon, an opportunity for the closest cooperation will present itself if Hungary and other Central European countries become NATO members.

[Lakatos] Minister, you are preparing to go to Russia. [passage omitted].

[Jeszenszky] Speaking about this visit, it is very important for Hungarian society to face the fact that there are a lot of problems in Russia. [passage omitted] But Russia is a world power and a very rich country with a great future. Russia has to be set to rights. [passage omitted] The Russian people is diligent, talented and, as I said, rich. Thus, it is very important for us to establish new types of relations with Russia under the new circumstances.

Let us remember what kind of gesture Yeltsin made when visiting Hungary and what agreements we concluded. We cannot doubt that Russia is important for us, notwithstanding views which appear in the press from time to time claiming that this government has neglected Russia and that this is why our eastern trade has collapsed. On one hand, the eastern market obviously collapsed by itself; on the other hand, this market has already revived. Currently Russia is Hungary's second or third trade partner.

[Lakatos] Will the issue of the Hungarian-Russian treaty, which the Russian parliament has thus far not ratified, be discussed in Moscow?

[Jeszenszky] Here I can cite President Yeltsin, who said that this ratification will certainly be done. But it is not sure whether parliament will ratify it. What I consider really important is that we have this treaty and hope that there will be a parliament which will do this and that the Russian deputies will display generosity and will not push this treaty into the background just because in it Russia apologizes for the 1956 intervention. It can be

said that present day Russia is a legal successor of the Soviet Union but it does not assume a moral identity with it. However, in the eyes of Hungarian society, it was first and foremost the Russians who committed the occupation, the intervention, although it also has to be stressed that many Russians changed sides.

[Lakatos] After Russia comes Romania. Minister, you will go to Bucharest at the invitation of Romanian Foreign Minister Melescanu.

[Jeszenszky] I will go to Bucharest directly from Moscow. This visit begins on 15 September. Apart from Bucharest, I would also like to visit Transylvania [Erdely]. I cannot talk about the precise program, because coordination has not been completed yet. But I would like to visit several large historical towns associated with important events.

[Lakatos] Maybe they include Oradea and Cluj Napoca.

[Jeszenszky] I can name several other towns as well which may be included.

[Lakatos] The issue of the Hungarian-Romanian treaty has come up many times recently. If one travels in Transylvania, many say—referring to the Hungarian-Ukrainian treaty—that they would not be happy with a Hungarian-Romanian treaty which proclaims the inviolability of the borders.

[Jeszenszky] What can be pointed out now is that Hungary is concluding treaties with Romania and other countries which are not hypocritical. If the major issues of Romanian-Hungarian relations are not settled, it would be hypocritical to conclude any kind of treaty.

[Lakatos] Are you thinking first and foremost of the situation of the [ethnic] Hungarians?

[Jeszenszky] I do think first and foremost of the situation of the [ethnic] Hungarians, but it would be wrong to judge Hungarian-Romanian relations exclusively on the basis of the situation of the Hungarian minority. Romania is quite a large country. Since the break-up of the federative states [USSR and Yugoslavia] and in the midst of the Balkans war, Romania's role has understandably grown, been revalued. Similarly, Hungary's role has been revalued, because we are not the smallest state of the region any more. I do not wish to exaggerate the significance of this; it is just that it is high time to get rid of the complex that we are the smallest, weakest, most vulnerable country of the region.

All in all, despite all economic difficulties, Romania is an important country, important for us as well. If we consider that it was one of our most important economic and trade partners between the two [world] wars and that there is hardly any trade between the two countries today, we should also see that there is a great opportunity to improve economic ties.

[Lakatos] During his recent visit to Hungary, [Congressman] Tom Lantos announced that the United States will open a consulate in Cluj Napoca. I know Germany also has a consulate there, perhaps Turkey does also. When will Hungary have one?

[Jeszenszky] I think this question should be addressed not to the Hungarian foreign minister but to the Romanian Government. I think it is self-evident that in a town which not only had an enormous role in Hungary's past but which is also Transylvania's capital and an economic center.... [pauses] If we really want to pursue trade, if we want to increase economic turnover, it is self-evident that we need a presence, a mission, and that we have to help businessmen. I think it is a question of time—and hopefully not too long—before the Hungarian consulate closed by Ceausescu is opened.

However, I would not say that everything depends on this. I hope very much that Romania takes seriously what I can hear or read from them, namely that it wants to improve relations not only with Hungary but also with the Hungarian minority in Romania. Of course, words have to be followed by actions. And this is being said primarily by the Hungarians in Transylvania, not the Hungarian foreign minister, or a Hungarian citizen, or many Hungarian citizens. Therefore I will visit the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania and other political parties as well.

But what I consider very important is that Romanian public opinion should go back to the mood of Christmas 1989 when every Romanian realized that the anti-Hungarian propaganda, Ceausescu's propaganda, was a lie, it was misleading. [passage omitted] With Europe's help, with the European institutions, Romanian-Hungarian relations can be shifted from the current stage. The whole of Romania, certainly the Hungarians of Transylvania and every Hungarian citizen, will gain by this.

[Lakatos] [passage omitted] Does Hungary already have a stance on Romania's admission to the Council of Europe?

[Jeszenszky] Our basic stance is very unequivocal. We have already said that we favor neighboring countries getting into the same organizations we are joining. It is not Hungary alone that has the competence to decide when the right time has come for this. This depends on the Council of Europe's ministers and parliamentary deputies. The Council of Europe has a very strict admission requirement system. [passage omitted]

What is important is that Romania joins the Council of Europe as a country—let me put it this way—with which there are no problems and which, in its practice and actions, complies with those principles and norms which the Western countries (?undoubtedly) comply with. It is a joint European interest to facilitate this.

[Lakatos] When the issue of Romania's admission is raised, many people refer to Slovakia. Let me remind

you, Minister, that in Hungary there was a debate on whether or not the Hungarian Government should support Slovakia's admission.

[Jeszenszky] [passage omitted] I do not think it is a good thing in politics to slavishly follow a previous example. What I consider important is that Slovakia's case is not repeated in the case of Romania—that is, confidence was placed in Slovakia in advance, but it cannot be said definitely today that this confidence was deserved.

[Lakatos] For example, place-name signs are being removed, though they say the Transport Ministry is doing this.

[Jeszenszky] I think this is the tip of an iceberg and is only a symptom, albeit a very important symptom. We are receiving promises that the Slovak parliament will deal with this favorably. [passage omitted: Council of Europe's control mechanism]

I believe that it is not only the Slovaks who have common sense—a good proportion of them are very rational and want to be on good terms with Hungary—but also the majority of Romanians. And if the propaganda campaign whose signs we have so often heard, read, and experienced, calms down, I think people's natural goodwill and direct economic interests will prevail.

In the perspective of history, this short period after the collapse of communism will only be an interlude; with the easing of suppression, tempers grew. Fortunately, this was not characteristic of Hungary. I hope that common sense and better living conditions will bring the turning point which I and others have been hoping for since 1989. All is not lost that is delayed.

UN Ambassador on Security Council Expansion

AU0709125793 Budapest MTI in English 0847 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, 7 September (MTI)—"All signs indicate the time has come to expand the U.N. Security Council, to alter its composition, and these ideas are already being considered in New York," Ambassador Andre Erdos, the leader of the Hungarian mission to the United Nations, said in an interview with the national daily MAGYAR HIRLAP.

The general view is that the United Nations will undergo some sort of reorganization in the coming decade, Erdos said.

The aim is for the membership of the Security Council to better reflect the realities of the world.

This, in effect, means that Japan and Germany would be included among the permanent members, alongside several other countries.

The role of the Security Council is to participate in the creation of world peace and security and this role will not change, Erdos said. The expansion should be subordinated to this goal, he added.

As the transformation of the Security Council requires the amendment of the Charter, the process does not promise to be an easy or a short one.

Based on his three decades-long diplomatic experience, Erdos was confident that a compromise solution can be found as regards the new charter, one that is acceptable to all, even if no one will be fully satisfied with it.

This solution can only be one which takes into consideration the interests of the current permanent members—the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, and China—and of the developing countries which would like to more actively participate in the work of the Security Council, Erdos said.

Government Coalition Majority Falls to Two

AU0609161393 Budapest MTI in English 1108 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, 3 September (MTI)—Hungary's ruling coalition now only has a majority of two in Parliament, with just 195 mandates in the 386-seat parliament, compared to an original 230 mandates three years ago.

The main coalition party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), together with the Independent Smallholders' Party (FKGP) and the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP) had 230 deputies on May 2, 1990, when it set up a government coalition at the founding session of the Hungarian Parliament.

This gave it a 69.6 percent majority, but now this is only 50.5 percent. A parliamentary voting majority requires 50 percent plus one vote, that is votes from 194 deputies.

The FKGP has broken into two groups in Parliament, with only 36 of the 44 original smallholders supporting the coalition, seven are still in the FKGP, and one is undecided.

Originally, the MDF had 165 mandates in Parliament, but this has fallen to 136. The recently formed Hungarian Justice and Life Party with 11 of those mandates and led by Istvan Csurka, who was expelled from the MDF, has broken away from the MDF.

Of the three coalition parties only the KDNP has increased the number of deputies, from 21 seats in 1990 to 23 seats now.

For the opposition parties, the number of deputies in the Alliance of Free Democrats has fallen by nine (from 94 to 85), the Hungarian Socialist Party remains unchanged at 33, while the Federation of Young Democrats now has 26 deputies compared to an original 22, and independents now number 27, compared to seven in 1990.

There are two mandates that are undecided, one due to death and one in the process of transfer.

The composition of Hungary's Parliament on September 2, 1993, was as follows:

	Deputies	Percent
Hungarian Democratic Forum	136	35.2
Alliance of Free Democrats	85	22.02
Smallholders' Party	36	9.33
Hungarian Socialist Party	33	8.55
Independents	27	6.99
Federation of Young Democrats	26	6.73
Christian Democratic People's Party	23	5.96
Hungarian Justice and Life Party	11	2.84
Independent Smallholders' Party	7	1.81
Undecided	2	0.51

Former Democratic Forum Members Form New Party

LD0309215593 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Four deputies belonging to the Monopoly Group of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, have formed a new party. Istvan Balas and Gyula Zacsek, among others, have initiated the establishment of the Hungarian Market Party. Both politicians resigned from their membership in the presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum at the beginning of this week. The new organization considers its primary task to be national cooperation for the protection of the economy and the calling of those into account who caused the serious situation facing the country. The acting chairman of the Hungarian Market Party is Istvan Balas, and the organization will be led by a seven-strong interim presidium.

Use of Minority-Language Placenames Reported

LD0609124693 Budapest MTI in English 1137 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Tedxt] Budapest, September 6 (MTI)—Ethnic minorities in Hungary have used village-name signs in their own language for almost 10 years.

The Foreign Ministry told MTI on Monday that ethnic communities in 198 out of Hungary's 3,078 towns and villages had requested their mother tongue be used for the name of their town or village. They can do so under a Transport Ministry decree passed in 1984.

Ten signs use two minority names as well as the Hungarian, such as Aljmas (Croatian), Almasch (German) and Bacsalmas (Hungarian), and Batania (Romanian), Batanja (Slovak) and Battonya (Hungarian).

Many historical minority village names are entirely different from the Hungarian, such as the German name for Torokbalint which is Grossturnwall.

Of minority village names, 118 are in German, 33 in Croatian, 21 in Slovak, nine in Serbian, eight in Slovenian, eight in Romanian and one in Greek. Most such settlements are in the counties of Baranya, Pest and Vas.

If a village has a sizable minority population, it can also use bilingual street, shop and other public signs.

Miklos Horthy, Family Reburied in Kenderes

LD0409183193 Budapest MTI in English 1504 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, September 4 (MTI)—Miklos Horthy (1868-1957), Hungary's regent between 1920 and 1944, was reburied in Kenderes (C Hungary), in the family crypt on the Horthy family's former estate, in accordance with his final will, on Saturday.

The reburial ceremony was held under an ecumenical service, and was organized as a family event. Also reburied were Horthy's wife, Magdolna Purgly, and their son, Miklos Horthy Jr., who died this year.

The Horthy family's remains arrived from Portugal on Friday evening, and the coffins lay in state in the Kenderes cemetery.

The reburial was initiated by the Union of Hungarian Sailors. Admiral Horthy was the last commander-in-chief of the Austro-Hungarian Empire's Navy, and as regent supported the idea of linking Hungarian Danube shipping with maritime shipping.

More than 50,000 people from all parts of Hungary arrived for the Kenderes ceremony. The Horthy family was represented by 56 members, who arrived from various countries.

The Hungarian Government was not officially represented at the reburial, however, several cabinet members were present as private individuals: Minister of the Interior Peter Boross, Minister of Defence Lajos Fur, Minister of Welfare Laszlo Surjan, Minister of Justice Istvan Balsai, Minister of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar, Ministers without Portfolio Ferenc Jozsef Nagy and Tamas Szabo, and Minister of Labour Gyula Kiss.

Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall did not attend, but was represented at the ceremony by his family members.

Speaking at the burial service, Mayor of Kenderes Mihaly Baranyi said Horthy's last will had been fulfilled, his remains have returned to his homeland, to Kenderes, where the majority of the people remember him and his family with love.

Retired Colonel-General Kalman Keri spoke on behalf of Horthy's fellow officers, as the representative of those who took their oath to the regent.

A farewell speech was delivered by the president of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in Hungary, Bishop Lorant Hegedus.

In her speech at the funeral service, Countess Ilona Edelsheim- Gyulai, wife of the late Istvan Horthy, said: "Our beloved deceased will be able to genuinely rest in peace if the country is again rebuilt with work, honesty and cooperation."

Istvan Horthy Jr., recalled his grandfather and said love for his homeland was the great driving force of Miklos Horthy's life. According to Horthy Jr., his grandfather was not an anti-Semite, he rather judged people according to their merits, and he had never heard his grandfather even make a reference to social or racial prejudice.

As regards the opportunities facing the free and independent Hungary, Horthy Jr. said: "What we need today is democracy, stability, human values, an entrepreneurial spirit and honesty. In order to make use of today's opportunities, Hungarians should unite in their feelings, now more than ever before. Debates are important, but these should not be allowed to lead to hatred and isolation."

Democratic Charter Holds Demonstration

AU0609161493 Budapest MTI in English 1938 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, 3 September (MTI)—Hundreds of people gathered in a heavy rain for the Friday evening program organized by Hungary's Democratic Charter in Budapest on the eve of the reburial of Miklos Horthy (1868-1957), regent of Hungary from 1920 to 1944.

Welcoming those present, writer Miklos Meszoly said everyone has a right to rest in home soil, but the funeral must not be used by successors for political ends. Horthy brought a sacrifice upon the nation which had lasting effects.

On a stage covered with the national tricolor, actors and musicians cited details from contemporary literary works evoking disturbing memories from the Horthy era: privileged landlords, miserable people, militarism, anti-semitism, anti-gypsy attitudes, war, and dead soldiers.

The only minor incident at the event was caused by a few skinheads, who were "neutralized" by organizers and participants.

"We have evoked the era and bid farewell to the system which sent one million people to death. It is by our own will that we bid farewell to an era which we do not regard as a predecessor of our present democratic republic, nor do we accept its traditions," Democratic Charter spokesman, and President of International PEN, Gyorgy Konrad said in conclusion.

Commemorating the victims of the Horthy regime and protesting a revival of the ideology of Hungarian governments between the two world wars, Hungary's Jewish organizations held a silent remembrance at the martyrs' memorial on Wesselenyi street in Budapest.

The more than 500 people who gathered in pouring rain lit candles in memory of Hungary's 600,000 Jewish martyrs.

Drop in Grain Harvest Reported

LD0709090593 Budapest MTI in English 0849 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—Sowing areas for corn in the ear (wheat, barley, oat, rye) increased by 1,544,000 hectares in Hungary this year, which is 7 per cent up on last year, however, 20 per cent less crop, about 4,377,000 tons, was harvested, the Central Statistical Office told MTI.

The poor harvest is mainly due to the drought: this May was the most arid in the second half of the century in Hungary.

Drought losses were aggravated by inappropriate agrotechnical work in many areas.

Wheat harvests totalled 3,032,000 tons, which is half the average of the years 1986-1990, and 12 per cent less (409,000 tons) than in 1992. The average yields of 3,060 kilograms per hectare are about 25 per cent down on last year's level.

The rye harvest totals 112,000 tons, 16 per cent less than in 1992.

Spring and autumn barley was grown on 10 per cent less area than last year, and yields totalled 1,139,000 tons, one-third less than in 1992.

Oat has been sown on an average 50,000 hectares for years, and yields in 1993 dropped to 94,000 tons from last year's 144,000 tons.

Demonstrators Disrupt Suchocka's Krakow Visit

LD0509194893 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Relayed by TV Polonia Network]

[Text] Prime Minister Suchocka's visit to Cracow has been disturbed by a demonstration by several hundred people organized by the Anarchist Federation. In the afternoon, the prime minister met with residents of the city in the main market square. Democratic Union [UD] parliamentary candidates were taking part in an election rally. The head of government toured the market square in a horse-drawn cab on her way to a nearby hotel. At the same time, the Anarchist Federation organized an antigovernment rally on the other side of the Sukiennice [cloth hall which almost divides the square in two]. Hanna Suchocka did not meet the anarchists, because the police barred the demonstrators' way. Several dozen people tried to break through the police cordon. The crowd began to throw rotten eggs and a regular battle which lasted more than an hour took place.

The incidents ended late in the evening. About a dozen people were arrested. [video shows demonstrators with banners reading "Suchocka Out!," "We'll Do Away with Bureaucrats"; fighting between police and demonstrators]

Suchocka Participating in UD Election Campaign

LD0509212093 Warsaw PAP in English 2009 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] Krakow, Sept. 5—Being the prime minister I have decided to take part in the election campaign of the Democratic Union (UD) because I see an explicit threat to all achievements of the last four years on the Polish political stage, Hanna Suchocka told UD election meeting in Krakow on Sunday.

In programmes launched by the opposition parties I hardly notice a proposal that would allow to solve efficiently our problems, she added. Presenting assumptions of the UD election programme, the prime minister said that the party wants to develop strong and developing economy that would provide people with jobs and the state budget with higher revenues to finance social, educational and health care programmes.

As the second element of the programme, the prime minister named the building of a strong lawful state "reinforced at the foundations by stronger and wealthier local governments of towns, communes and counties."

Rokita Warns of SLD Election Consequences

LD0509210293 Warsaw PAP in English 2007 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] Krakow, Sept. 5—Head of the Cabinet Office who also leads the Democratic Union in Krakow Minister Jan Maria Rokita told PAP Sunday that the eventual success of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) in the September 19 parliamentary elections can substantially hamper the process of Poland's admittance to NATO.

"As far as Poland's membership of NATO is concerned we (UD) have very strong support particularly on the part of Germany. We have a personal support of Chancellor Helmut Kohl for this project." The possible SLD participation in the future government may spoil these opportunity, Rokita said.

He added that the election success of the SLD will imply a radical change in the political image of this party.

"People such as Aleksander Kwasniewski and Jozef Oleksy (leaders of the grouping—ed.) will be pushed aside" because they were needed during the transition period to adapt the communist party to democratic structures and these people were able to do this, Rokita said.

In his opinion, the SLD would not manage to form a government. " I can not imagine that President Lech Walesa could cooperate with a government formed by this party," he added.

Charges, Countercharges in Election Campaign

LD0609215393 Warsaw PAP in English 2131 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—The Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) Monday protested against remarks made on Sunday by Jan Maria Rokita of the Democratic Union (UD) in his interview for PAP. SLD condemned the practice of "giving marks to professors who are SLD candidates by a member of the cabinet led by untenured associate professors."

In a protest filed with PAP Monday, SLD also pointed out that Rokita's criticism of past political affiliation of some SLD candidates who had been PZPR (Communist Party) members was hard to understand in view of the fact that the Democratic Union had a former communist party central committee secretary among its candidates, as well as a group of lower-ranking former PZPR functionaries.

The SLD spokesman described as deplorable and worthy of condemnation Rokita's remarks about Chancellor Kohl, Poland and NATO, which, according to SLD, amounted to exploiting foreign policy for electoral game and an attempt to scare the Polish society with Kohl.

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, deputy chairman of the Democratic Union, told reporters in Bialystok monday that if the SLD won the elections, the right-wing parties would be to blame.

"Parties such as the Centre Alliance (PC) and the Movement for the 3rd Republic of Poland (RDR) have worked hard in parliament for the possible success of SLD," he said. "Their policy of isolating SLD and pushing it to a (political) ghetto has resulted in a growing integration

among SLD ranks. On the other hand, economic changes in Poland and the sense of uncertainty and threat stimulated by the noisy rightist parties have drawn the attention of many voters to the left wing," Frasyniuk claimed.

He called on the right wing to support the Democratic Union, "the only party capable of defeating the SLD."

Marian Krzaklewski, the leader of Solidarity, told a meeting in Poznan Monday that soon his union would be the only force capable of stopping the ex-communists, "if not in the coming elections, then in the next ones."

Andrzej Olechowski of the Non-party Reform Bloc (BBWR) declared Monday his group would be ready to form a government coalition with those parties which had accepted the 12-point charter of economic guidelines adopted by the Economic Development Council attached to the president. He added the charter was approved by the UD and the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD), among others.

Olechowski also said the BBWR was for a clear-cut separation of the legislative and executive branches. This is why the group would not rely on its elected deputies when forming a government, Olechowski announced. Sejm deputies should devote their energies to legislative work, Olechowski stressed.

The Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) will take to account Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski for his support of Euroregions, a party candidate from Wroclaw said on Monday.

He also pledged that the "almost neocolonial privileges" enjoyed by western capital operating in Poland will be eliminated if KPN has its way.

Results of Final Electoral Polls Announced

LD0609200893 Warsaw PAP in English 1846 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—Leftist groups, including the post communist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), will gain the highest number of votes, according to opinion polls carried out by different opinion polling centres at the end of August. Only five up to nine political groups are likely to cross the threshold of 5 per cent of votes for parties and 8 per cent of votes for coalitons, with no rightist party fulfilling this condition. Some 50-60 per cent of voters are going to participate in the elections.

Under the new electoral law, Monday, September 6, was the last day when results of opinion polls might be published.

The CBOS public opinion research centre found that 50 per cent of the electorate will cast their votes and the SLD will be the winner (15 per cent of votes) followed by the PSL (13 per cent), the Non- party Reform Bloc (BBWR) and the Union of Labour (UP), both with 6 per cent of votes, "Solidarity" trade union and Party "X" with 5 per cent of votes.

According to the OBOP polling centre only 42 per cent of respondents declared to take part in the elections. The first place will be taken by the SLD with 19 per cent of votes to be closely followed by the UD (16.5 per cent), the PSL (13.5 per cent), the BBWR and up (9 per cent) and the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN - 7 per cent).

63 per cent of Poles will go to polling stations according to Demoskop and the winner will be the UD with over 20 per cent of votes. The PSL will take the second place (15 per cent) and the SLD the third (13.5 per cent). Three other parties the UP, the KPN and the BBWR are also likely to win more than 5 per cent of votes.

The social research centre which carried opinion polls for the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily found that 66 per cent of respondents will vote and 8 parties will win their place in parliament - the UD (16 per cent), SLD (15 per cent), PSL (12 per cent), UP (9 per cent), KPN and Solidarity (7 per cent), BBWR (6 per cent), the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD) and the Catholic Election Committee "Ojczyzna" (both 5 per cent). If these results prove right the UD would gain 144 seats, SLD - 112, PSL - 89, UP - 55, Solidarity - 30, BBWR - 24 and KPN - 21.

According to the analysis conducted by GAZETA WYBORCZA the SLD may win 143-180 seats, PSL 83-126 seats, UD 87-108 seats, UP 31-43, BBWR 3-56 and KPN 26-62 [figures as received].

Defense Ministry Denies Talks on Maneuvers With Germany

LD0609150693 Warsaw PAP in English 1436 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—The Polish Defence Ministry is denying revelations published by the German press on the alleged negotiations concerning a joint Polish-German military manoeuvres, Defence Ministry Spokesman Leszek Ziolo told PAP on Monday.

More on Denial

AU0709102493 Warsaw PAP in English 1803 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Warsaw, Bonn, Sept. 6—The Polish Defence Ministry denied Monday revelations published by the German press on the alleged negotiations concerning a joint Polish-German military manoeuvres and making Polish military training grounds available for the German army, Defence Ministry spokesman Leszek Ziolo told PAP on Monday.

The German weekly DIE WELT wrote Monday about plans to carry out joint military manoeuvres by Poland, Germany and Denmark. The weekly quoted German

Defence Minister Volker Ruehe as saying that he wants to establish the closest possible cooperation with its neighbour.

Another weekly, DER SPIEGEL, has revealed that Poland offered to Germany its training grounds but that the German Defence Ministry has not received a formal offer yet.

Ziolo admitted that negotiations on joint trainings of units assigned to United Nations' peace missions were discussed but that it was a far-reaching prospect. Germany has never participated in such missions and Poland has, according to Ziolo, great experience in this field and a specialized training centre for the purpose.

He also denied allegations that the Polish Government or the Polish military authorities have proposed the formation of a Polish-German brigade modelled on the existing French-German one. He said that no decision has been made so far on joint maritime manoeuvres of Polish, German and Danish units.

Skubiszewski on Justice Minister's Decision

LD0309183893 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] A statement by Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski has been given to us by Grzegorz Dziemidowicz, his press spokesman.

[Begin Dziemidowicz recording] Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski told Prime Minister Suchocka that the justice minister's decision concerning the investigation into the murder of Polish officers in the USSR had been made in violation of legal rules on the coordination of the ministers' activities with regard to foreign relations. This coordination belongs to the jurisdiction of the minister of foreign affairs, and there is no room for any arbitrary actions by heads of other ministries. [end recording]

Balance of Payments Deficit $1.8 Billion

LD0609140093 Warsaw PAP in English 1347 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—The deficit in the balance of payments of the state amounts to 1.8 billion dollars after the first seven months of 1993.

In July alone the deficit amounted to 169 million dollars. Such a situation results mainly from the deficit in foreign trade amounting to 1.44 billion dollars after the seven months of this year and the payment of the foreign debt interest that totalled two million dollars, Ewa Bieniasz from the National Bank of Poland (NBP) said Monday.

The surplus in private money transfers, that totalled 1.44 billion dollars after the first seven months of 1993, has a positive impact on the balance of payments. In July alone, the surplus in foreign currency deposits amounted to 138 million dollars.

The NBP stresses that export incomes, although 319 million dollars lower than import spendings, increased 11.7 per cent as compared with the average monthly figure.

In July, the gross foreign currency reserves increased by about 300 billion dollars reaching 3.562 billion dollars. Of this, 83 million came from foreign investments and the remaining part is the surplus in currency purchase in exchange desks of the bank.

Lalumiere Favors Country's Admittance to CE

AU0409154993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1430 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/9/1993—In an interview with Radio France International, Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe [CE] says there are several arguments recommending Romania's admission to this European body, not only because important steps forward have been made in Romania, undeniably, but also because the wish that Romania become a member of the Council of Europe is shared by all the parties, both of the ruling majority and of the opposition.

Requested to present her point of view on the memorandum handed to her during the visit to Romania by the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR), Ms. Lalumiere said she had met with the UDMR president who stated to her his full agreement to Romania's association with the Council of Europe. He said the UDMR president demanded a number of guarantees relative to the Hungarian minority, which does not make him adverse to Romania's admission to the Council of Europe.

On the other hand Ms. Lalumiere said a number of rights had already been granted to the Hungarian minority and that she could see for herself on the spot that some of the solutions considered as excellent had already been implemented. "One cannot say the rights of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania are being violated," the Council's secretary general concluded, adding that the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania should not be an obstacle barring Romania's access to the European body. And she stressed: "On the contrary, if we want to have a better and more objective view of how such a situation evolves, I think that the accession to full European Council membership would be welcome."

Iliescu To Seek Stronger Ties in Visit to Turkey

TA0709140693 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1005 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] Bucharest, Sept 6 (AA)—Romanian President Ion Iliescu said on Monday that he attached importance to his official visit to Turkey which is planned to commence on September 9 and which he hopes will strengthen the links between the two countries.

Iliescu, speaking to a group of Turkish reporters, said during the visit he will look for ways to improve bilateral relations between the two countries.

Iliescu said he will discuss ways to improve projects within the framework of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization, of which Turkey and Romania are both members.

Commenting on the Bosnian crisis, Iliescu said a peaceful solution could be found to the conflict but that a military intervention would seriously harm the Bosnian people.

Iliescu warned that the conflict could spread to other parts of the Balkans because of the economic crisis in the Balkan countries.

Ministers Accused of Corruption Brief Press

AU0309173293

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian between 1224 GMT and 1429 GMT on 3 September carries a two-hour-and-five-minute live relay from Victoria Palace in Bucharest of a news conference held by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, Finance Minister Florin Georgescu, Interior Minister George Ioan Danescu, and Government Secretary General Viorel Hrebenciuc. The news conference was occasioned by the previously held cabinet meeting that discussed the motion, submitted to Parliament on 31 August, requesting that the aforementioned dignitaries, excepting the prime minister, should be demoted on account of their suspected involvement in a number of cases of corruption.

In his 40-minute statement, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu explains that "the government has unanimously decided to reject this motion." He also says that a parliament session will be held to discuss the adoption or rejection of the opposition's motion and that the aforementioned dignitaries will be present and take the floor at that session.

In connection with the motion, Vacaroiu says that he views it as just another attempt to create difficulties for the executive power. "The motion," he says, "did not surprise us, we expected it, however we never expected them to go so far" as to accuse ministers "without any evidence at all."

After discussing the difficult tasks borne by ministers in the current economic and social situation, he gives certain details of some of the "achievements" of his executives over the past year in the effort to stabilize Romania's economic situation.

Reiterating his conviction that the opposition's motion is actually a "plot," Vacaroiu points out that the anticorruption parliamentary commission's report is merely a "preliminary report," unable to precisely establish which dignitary is to be blamed for what. In this context, he attacks General Gheorghe Florica, former chief of Financial Oversight Body, for the "unfounded" disclosures he made that triggered this whole campaign.

He also accuses the recently deposed head of the Romanian Development Agency, Eugen Ijdelea, of permitting the setting up of joint ventures in which foreign investors participated with a $2 [as published] capital and stresses

that the purpose of such deals was to abuse Romanian Law No. 35 that provides for a five-year tax exemption for such joint ventures.

In conclusion, Vacaroiu expresses the hope that "the truth will eventually come out, we are fighting for that." He also assures the journalists present that "I would never forgive any minister who was really guilty of such acts of corruption." In connection with the opposition's motion, he says that "it is beyond imagination." He adds that "I have not come here with my colleagues to justify them, I simply wanted them to make statements related to those allegations, so that you would be able to judge for yourselves, regardless of what you will publish on this issue tomorrow."

The floor is then taken, in turn, by Government Secretary General Viorel Hrebenciuc, Finance Minister Florin Georgescu, and Interior Minister George Ioan Danescu, who reject all accusations and deny any involvement in acts of corruption.

After these brief statements, a question-and-answer session follows. The questions focus on details related to economic and financial issues, with the aforementioned dignitaries rejecting all accusations.

Iliescu: Cabinet Reshuffle Abides by Constitution

AU0309195493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Presidential spokesman Ambassador Traian Chebeleu held his weekly news conference at Cotroceni Palace [presidency] today. As our reporter Sorin Croitorescu informed us, opening the news conference, Ambassador Chebeleu read two press statements.

In the first, he referred to a statement published on 30 August by the opposition parties, which emphasized that the recent government reshuffle had not observed the provisions of the Constitution. By citing the articles of Romania's Constitution, Ambassador Chebeleu specified that the president believes that, during the recent government reshuffle, the Constitution was observed and that the criticisms raised are speculations with political implications and this is why he cannot engage in an intervention of the kind demanded in the statement of the opposition parties, because such an intervention would represent a unconstitutional action.

In the second press statement, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu referred to a number of convergent attacks against Romania's president, attacks that lack any grounds and are not backed by facts. He emphasized that what is surprising is not so much the gratuity, but especially their concerted nature, their simultaneousness, and the explicit or covert threats accompanying them. The statement cited in this sense the names of Messrs. Gheorghe Funar, leader of the Romanian National Unity Party, and the names of Senators Viorel Salagean and Ion Coja.

Ambassador Chebeleu emphasized that President Ion Iliescu has always abided strictly by the letter and spirit of the Constitution and has not gone beyond his tasks through unconstitutional intervention in the activity of the government, Prosecutor's Office, the Court, or the other bodies in the state.

In conclusion, Ambassador Chebeleu recalled the appeal launched by President Iliescu for sincere cooperation between the government and opposition and for creating a platform of understanding and establishing a common political pact.

Party Leaders Condemn UDMR Memorandum to CE

AU0609162993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1100 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/9/1993—The move undertaken by the UDMR (Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania) to object to Romania's admission to the Council of Europe [CE] by forwarding a memorandum to the Council of Europe, brought about an attitude of condemnation among opposition parties that form the Democratic Convention of Romania (CDR), a member of which UDMR itself is.

Daily ORA carries the statements of several prominent politicians on the issue:

Petre Roman, president of PD/FSN [Democratic Party-National Salvation Front]: It is obvious that this action taken by UDMR can be interpreted as a blackmail just before the admission of this country to the Council of Europe. From this point of view, we reject firmly such an attempt. Any demarche without a prior discussion with other political factors in Romania and in disregard of the real status of ethnic minorities in Romania cannot but poison people's feelings, a thing we want removed from Romania's political life.

Alexandru Popovici, leading member of PAC (Civic Alliance Party): I find the memorandum as out of place, considering that such a demarche is usually made in a certain political context... As it is, I see it as foul play to the CDR. Our interest is to see Romania integrating as soon as possible in the European structures and this I think coincides with UDMR's interests. From my point of view, this declaration (memorandum) is something much worse than what it has been called until now, it is a grave political mistake.

Sergiu Cunescu, leader of PSDR (Social Democratic Party of Romania): As allies of UDMR we are now in a very delicate position. But neither our party nor the Convention as a whole have been notified of their intention. The opposition could subscribe to 50 percent of their statements, but the other half is highly questionable. But as the Council of Europe is a very well informed body, both on the positions of the government, on the opposition, and on the general situation in

Romania, we estimate the memorandum forwarded by UDMR will not be taken into consideration.

Mircea Ciumara, prominent member of PNTCD (Christian Democratic National Peasant Party) termed as "unacceptable" the memorandum's final recommendation that Romania be not accepted in the Council but cautioned that the political forces in Romania would better keep their calm. Only with a violent reaction on the Romanian side would the document become actually harmful, this proving that Romanians are intolerant. All our party have been appalled by their move (UDMR) but we hope that this week we shall have their explanations in parliament.

PNTCD's Coposu Objects to Points in UDMR Memorandum

AU0609193493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1601 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/9/1993—Asked by the press to comment on the position of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNTCD] with respect to the memorandum handed to the secretary general of the Council of Europe by leaders of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], PNTCD President Corneliu Coposu stated: "Though at the meeting between Mrs. Lalumiere and leaders of the opposition parties UDMR President Bela Marko had stated his support for Romania's admission to the Council of Europe, he later handed that memorandum without notification to the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]."

The PNTCD leader also said that, after an analysis of the text of the memorandum, the PNTCD objected to some points which it considered "inappropriate, subjective, and unrealistic." The memorandum contains a preliminary historical presentation from which it results that only the Hungarian minority suffered during the former communist regime, which is "unfair," Corneliu Coposu said. "We can agree in no way with the Hungarian minority's claim for privileges at the expense of the other minorities of Romania."

The PNTCD leader said that his party disagreed with the memorandum's disputing the national and unitary character of the Romanian state. The UDMR memorandum, which troubled the members parties of CDR, Coposu said, would be analyzed at the next meeting of the CDR, but PNTCD does not favor the idea of excluding UDMR from this political alliance because "such a break would make things tougher."

Referring to Parliament's debate of the motion called by the opposition parties, PNTCD First Vice President Ion Diaconescu said that if it passed, that would be a victory of the opposition, if not, the opposition would call on other motions in order to morally and politically blame the persons accused of corruption.

Frunda Denies UDMR Intention To Withdraw From CDR

AU0709101993 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 2 Sep 93 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Will the UDMR Leave the Democratic Convention?"]

[Text] According to a source within the government party [Social Democracy Party of Romania—PDSR], in case PUNR [National Romanian Unity Party] decides to endorse a no-confidence motion initiated by the opposition in Parliament, the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] will withdraw its support granted so far to its partners within the CDR [Democratic Convention of Romania], and it might even vote in favor of the current executive. According to the same source within the PDSR, such a move seems likely because recently the government has adopted a positive stance regarding certain problems of ethnic minorities.

Asked to comment on those allegations, UDMR Senator Gyorgy Frunda made the following statement to correspondents of MEDIAFAX news agency: "We will stay in the CDR and try to make all our political actions suit the views of our partners. This allegation (of the source within PDSR, editor's note) they probably intend to discredit the UDMR." The UDMR senator then assessed that this might be political blackmail related to the issue of the bilingual inscriptions. "We will not fall into the trap. The issue of the [bilingual] inscriptions is a problem of all ethnic minorities living in Romania, not merely that of a sole party," concluded Frunda.

Measures Against Florica in Response to Interview

AU0309203193 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 1 Sep 93 p 16

[Andrei Badin article: "President Iliescu Decides the Fate of General Florica"]

[Text] Mr. Niculae Spiroiu, minister of national defense, has submitted a proposal to place Major General Gh. Florica [former chief of financial Oversight Body] in reserve, due to his affirmations in an interview, granted to Radio Free Europe [RFE], that revealed his mistrust in President Iliescu. The Army Press Bureau specified that General Florica has violated the dispositions of the Ministry of Defense regarding conditions in which Army cadres may grant interviews to the foreign press. The same source specified that the fact was taken into consideration that, in such an interview, General Florica expressed his mistrust in our country's president, who is also the supreme commander of the Army. The Ministry of National Defense has forwarded a proposal to the presidency regarding placing General Florica in reserve beginning in August. The presidency, however, has not yet made any decision. For the time being, General Florica has been appointed project chief at the Higher Regulations Commission of the Ministry of National

Defense, which in military terms means he has been "put on the shelf." Placing General Florica in reserve is the president's task now, sources of the Army Press Bureau specified. Thus Major General Gh. Florica's fate is in the hands of the president. When will Mr. Ion Iliescu issue the decree on placing General Florica in reserve?

Mohora on Government Participation, UDMR Memorandum

AU0609193293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1447 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/9/1993—Tudor Mohora, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], told a Monday, September 6, press conference, that the Government had to be much firmer in fighting corruption. That is one of the conditions PSM would set for its participation in a future government, which is not for the time being of interest for his party, added Mr. Mohora. He said that it was nevertheless important to mention as a matter of principle that PSM would not accept a decorative role in a government for which the PSM program would be of no consequence. We are not interested in one or two portfolios, but rather in the way in which the PSM election message could be applied, said the politician.

Speaking about a recent memorandum [sent to the secretary general of the Council of Europe] of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], Tudor Mohora mentioned that both the views of the UDMR leaders and of other political leaders supporting the UDMR had trespassed a normal framework, so that Parliament should take attitude and force them into a "reasonable" stance. The PSM deputy chairman said that mounting chauvinism and revisionism could be noticed in Hungary, the attitude of the Magyar society on the occasion of the ceremony for Horthy's re-burial standing proof to that. Mr. Mohora added that the PSM leaders would adopt a final stance on the UDMR memorandum after having heard clarifications by the leaders of that party.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 7 September

WA0709164493

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Serbian, Croatian officials view future of peace talks ... Muslims in Mostar, Herzegovina demand sanctions against Croatia ... Macedonia tightens border with Yugoslavia ... Croatian President Tudjman sends letter to Bosnian Croat leader Boban, urging him to respect human rights ... Muslims report military success in Novi Travnik.

DIPLOMATIC

FUTURE OF TALKS CONSIDERED (TANJUG, Zagreb Radio): Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic says that if peace talks resume, the Serbian side will withdraw "concessions" it made during earlier round. Croatian Foreign Minister Granic urges talks be resumed "as soon as possible." (LD0709O01293, LD0309192093)

SANCTIONS

MUSLIMS DEMAND SANCTIONS AGAINST CROATIA (TANJUG): Muslims from Mostar and Herzegovina issue public appeal advising all Muslim refugees to withdraw from Croatia and demanding that international sanctions be placed on the Croats. (LD0409201093)

MACEDONIA TIGHTENS BORDER WITH FRY: Belgrade Radio reports Macedonia has "drastically tightened" its border with Yugoslavia with the aid of "U.S. blue helmets." Yugoslav Foreign Minister Unkovic, according to TANJUG, charges action is "contrary to the UN resolution on humanitarian aid." (AU0519164493, LD0609201793)

POLITICAL

TUDJMAN URGES BOBAN TO RESPECT RIGHTS (Zagreb Radio): Croatian President Tudjman sends letter to Bosnian Croat leader Boban urging him to "be guided by respect for human dignity" and "for basic human values and rights." (LD0709000093)

MILITARY

MUSLIMS REPORT SUCCESS IN NOVI TRAVNIK: Sarajevo Radio reports Muslim forces blocked Croatian offensive in Novi Travnik, "liberated" part of town controlled by Croats. Zagreb Radio claims Muslims shelled town, switched off water supply. (AU0609094193, LDO609193793)

Serbs Protest Planned Izetbegovic Speech to UN

LD0609215193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2054 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Pale, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the assembly of the republic of Srpska, sent a letter today to the UN Security Council chairman protesting the scheduled address by Alija Izetbegovic to the Security Council in the capacity of president of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In his letter, Krajisnik says that it has been over a year since Izetbegovic ceased to be the legitimate and lawful president of former Bosnia-Herzegovina and that his self-styled presidential status has been disputed both by the Serbian and Croatian nations in Bosnia.

The domestic and the international public know very well that Izetbegovic is only the leader of the Party of Democratic Action and possibly of the Muslim nation, Krajisnik says in his letter, expressing at the same time his profound concern over the fact that some influential world factors have been trying to impose the unlawful president and his presidency on the sovereign nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In all the discussions on the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis so far, representatives of the United Nations and relevant international factors have confirmed that there are three sovereign nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, each having its democratically elected representatives and that the civil war cannot be resolved with force, but with political means, with the observance of legitimate rights, interests, and the political will of each of them, the letter from Momcilo Krajisnik to the UN Security Council chairman says in conclusion.

Izetbegovic Previews UN Speech

LD0609222093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Telephone interview with Alija Izetbegovic, in New York, by unidentified announcer in Sarajevo—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Mr. President, good afternoon.

[Izetbegovic] Good afternoon, it is still good morning here.

[Announcer] As we know, you should address the Security Council tomorrow. Could you tell us the basic ideas in your speech?

[Izetbegovic] I am just working on my speech now, you know. I can tell you certain things which I am planning to say tomorrow. First of all, I will clearly remind this body that they have not gone out of their way in their assistance to Bosnia-Herzegovina since the beginning of the war; to help Bosnia-Herzegovina preserve the state's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, to protect the territory from attacks or the people from the genocide. I must reproach them that they have not done much, or as our people would say: They have not gone out of their way to try to help us.

I will complain to them about a series of issues. Namely, I will tell them that they have passed many nice resolutions and appeals and said many nice words, but no deeds stood behind them.

[Announcer] In connection with this, will you demand a change in their policy?

[Izetbegovic] Of course, when I tell them all this, you know that their potential is in a certain way [pauses], that this is some kind of international tribunal, but it is paralyzed to a large extent by influences on the part of powers having very different interests. From China to England, France, America and so on. However, there are certain objections which cannot be ignored, which are very clear, such as the issue that one country was attacked, and that all they have done was pass resolutions. In practical terms they did very little other than making a negative move by imposing an embargo on the country under attack and then went on stubbornly implementing it. I will reproach them for this and tell them that they have deprived us of the right to self-defense at the most critical moment for the survival of the state and nation.

[Announcer] Whereby they violated the UN Charter.

[Izetbegovic] Not only did they violate the charter, but they also did what they claim they did not want to do. Namely, they claim that they do not want to interfere in the conflict. I will tell them that they have interfered in the conflict in a negative way. They interfered because they, let me speak metaphorically, came to Bosnia-Herzegovina, tied the hands of the person under attack, and then walked away. We have been asking them all the time: Just come and untie our hands and then go about your business. They have not done it. Therefore, I have to tell them that they are bearing full responsibility for what is happening to Bosnia-Herzegovina and its nation.

Furthermore, I will remind them that they have passed certain resolutions. Specifically Resolution 836 referring to the protection of the six zones. I will tell them that nothing has been done in the implementation of that resolution, so that Sarajevo is still under siege. It is being said here that Sarajevo is not under siege. Sarajevo is under siege. I must inform them about certain facts, so that at least the well-intentioned people among them, who are not well informed, would not live in false belief. Sarajevo is under siege because there are more than 1,000 artillery pieces around and above it ready to launch an attack on the city at any moment. I will demand that the arms around Sarajevo be removed.

Of course, I will demand the protection of the other five zones as well. I will remind them that we also asked for the same status for Mostar. Furthermore, I will draw their attention to Mostar which is sealed off and Gornji Vakuf which is under attack. Yesterday I received a dramatic warning, a report from Gornji Vakuf in which

[word indistinct] are informed that the town is constantly showered by shells. (?Let them verify) from a number of sources that the report is correct. It is completely correct. The town is being destroyed day after day. It has been reduced to ruins. I will draw the Security Council's attention to the situation both in Mostar and Gornji Vakuf.

This is more or less everything that I will say tomorrow. Of course, I will also tell them that regardless of how the talks end, our stand is still that the main point of any future agreement must be the survival of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the return of refugees—the refugees' right to return to their homes—and the introduction of mechanisms to secure their return; if not immediately, then in the near future. Of course, they will be allowed to return immediately in the parts which are under the control of the Bosnian army. We will do that because our nation is simply disappearing and suffering outside the country—suffering both physically and psychologically. They should return as soon as possible in the areas under the control of the Bosnian army. We will try to engage international factors in securing their return in the areas which are not under control.

Finally, we will insist that all war criminals must be put on trial. There are no compromises in this respect.

These are the main issues that I will raise tomorrow. I will probably say some other things, although I must be rather brief, specific, and concise.

[Announcer] Reports from U.S. sources suggest that you will this time have a face-to-face meeting with the U.S. President. Is that true?

[Izetbegovic] It is certain at the moment that on Wednesday, God willing, I will meet Mr. Christopher, the secretary of state, and there is very high probability that I will meet President Clinton after that. This has not been confirmed yet, but I think it is almost certain.

I should of course tell you now what I will say to the high officials I will meet. On the one hand I will thank them for the political support they have been giving to Bosnia-Herzegovina during all this time. They have in fact prevented the imposition of some solutions which did not suit us. However, I will underline that although the support has been very significant it has been insufficient.

I will also insist on a concrete definition of the form of U.S. participation in the international guarantees of the agreement which will possibly be reached and signed one day.

[Announcer] Thank you very much. Mr. President, do you happen to have a message for our people?

[Izetbegovic] At this moment I would like to tell our citizens not to lose hope, to be patient, while I would like to tell our soldiers to preserve the positions which they are holding, to defend what they control, not to give in. Of course, we are going to refrain from any offensive activities, but not from defensive activities. We will defend ourselves.

I would like to tell them again not to rely on what I have said about Mostar and Gornji Vakuf; the army should do everything to defend these two towns. It has the right to it, it is not an aggression, it is not an attack, it is defense of our positions, we have been attacked there. Therefore, the army should defend what we are holding today. We have dispersed throughout the world, I have come to America, Haris Silajdzic is to leave for Moscow tomorrow, Filipovic and Miro Lazovic have gone to Europe, to some European cities, so we are visiting all parts of the world to seek justice for our people and for our country.

I have been invited to pay a several-hour visit to Saudi Arabia immediately after America. If I could arrange a face-to-face talk without any waste of time, I would like to pay a visit to Saudi Arabia, because it is a very influential country, although it is not a military power, it is a great financial power, it could provide help in financing UN operations; I would ask King Fahd for it if I am given the chance to see him. No time wasting, of course. After that I would immediately return to Sarajevo. I think that, God willing, I will return by the end of the week.

Therefore, soldiers should do their job, they should protect it, we will try to extend the territory on which the Bosnian democratic authorities will be in power, as I said last time, authorities, a territory on which nobody should feel uncomfortable and on which nobody will be persecuted because of his religion, nationality, or political orientation.

[Announcer] Mr. President, I am convinced that I share the opinion of the largest number of Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens in suggesting that you should go to Saudi Arabia irrespective of the fact that you could spend one or even two days there. In any case, it is useful that this very important country, as you said, its leadership, should obtain authentic information on what is really happening in Bosnia. I can only wish you success in your responsible presidential mission on behalf of our viewers and listeners. Thank you, Mr. President.

[Izetbegovic] Thank you, long live.

Karadzic Discusses Future of Peace Negotiations

LD0709001293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2330 GMT 6 Sep 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Pale, Sept 6 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said on Monday evening that the collapse of the Geneva peace talks had not been followed by an escalation of Serb-Moslem fighting, "which gives us some hope that we will approach peace before any further escalation."

"We intend to maintain the present ceasefire for as long as we can, although the lives of our soldiers are in danger," Karadzic told a news conference in Pale.

He also recalled that Bosnian Serbs and Croats had not been fighting each other for almost five months, whereas Croats and Moslems had been fighting pitched battles. "We are still patient and we will wait for the Moslem leadership to return to the conference table and sign the peace package," said Karadzic.

The Bosnia peace talks broke up last Wednesday after the Moslems rejected to accept the plan for transforming Bosnia into a union of three ethnic mini-states.

Karadzic said that there would be no more territorial concessions and that some of the proposed concessions would be withdrawn. Asked whether the concessions would be withdrawn immediately or after the plan had been rejected, Karadzic said: "We can do it already now, because the talks were aimed at reaching a final settlement through concessions. Otherwise, both the Serbs and the Croats can withdraw their concessions immediately."

Asked whether the Serbs would proclaim independence and form their own state if no solution was found, Karadzic said that the Serb side would make no spectacular moves. "We will be patient and wait for the international community to force the Moslems to accept the proposed solution ... meanwhile, we will not launch any military activity," he explained.

The Bosnian Serb leader said that the Serbian side was prepared to withdraw "at any moment" and give back a significant amount of territory "in accordance with the agreement." If no solution is found, the Bosnian republic of Srpska will seek international recognition, but then nobody will be able to say that we are to blame for the procrastination or collapse of the talks, he said.

Challenging the right of Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetebgovic to address the U.N. Security Council on Tuesday as president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic said: "He is president of the rump presidency. There are no legitimate representatives of either the Serb or the Croat peoples in that body, so that Izetbegovic can only speak on behalf of Bosnian Moslems."

Commenting on a statement by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher urging Bosnian Serbs and Croats to be more flexible and warning them of the effects of their "stubbornness" regarding the territorial corrections sought by Izetbegovic, Karadzic said that Christopher was showing goodwill for seeking a political settlement.

If Mr Christopher had followed the activities of the Serb side over the past month, he would see for himself that we had been very flexible, he added. "Unfortunately, there is no more room for flexibility because it would go against the Serb national interests," said Karadzic.

He also said that the situation in Sarajevo had considerably improved because water, electricity and natural gas supplies had been restored, and that humanitarian aid for the city was mostly passing through Serbian territory.

The Bosnian Serb leader said he thought there should be no problem concerning the free movement of people to and from Sarajevo on the two recently opened routes. "I don't think that we are holding the city under blockade, because we insist on the freedom of movement and on humanitarian aid entering Sarajevo ... but we cannot allow Moslem troops and arms to enter the city because this would enable them to attack the seven Serb-controlled quarters and kill our people there," said Karadzic. He also said he hoped that peace would be restored before winter.

Karadzic: No More 'Concessions'

LD0509215893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2119 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Excerpt] Foca, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], stated in Foca this evening that fresh pressure to bring about new concessions to the Muslims can be expected when the Geneva negotiations resume.

He stressed that the Serb side cannot make any more concessions to the Muslims because this would threaten his own state and its compactness.

According to Karadzic, there can only be territorial adjustments within the framework of the agreement already reached.

The republic's president had talks in Foca today with local leaders on the political, security, and economic situation in this municipality.

Karadzic informed the representatives of the civil and military authorities in Foca of the negotiations in Geneva and the prospects of continuing them. [passage omitted]

Krajisnik Says Serbs Support Resumption of Talks

LD0409195893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1850 GMT 4 Sep 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Novi Sad, September 4 (TANJUG)—The Serbian republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina (R.S.) parliament President Momcilo Krajisnik stated Saturday [4 September] the R.S. supports the U.N. Security Council call for the Geneva talks to be resumed.

The Geneva talks on the future of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina were interrupted Wednesday because the Moslem delegation was dissatisfied with the maps of ethnic states the future confederation was to have been partitioned into.

In a statement to the Novi Sad radio, Krajisnik added that the Serb delegation was ready to continue talks, but

was not prepared to give further concessions, because, in the round before last, it granted the last five concessions the Moslems requested so as to sign the plan.

The Moslems subsequently asked for new territories.

Under the agreement, the Moslems are to get 30 percent of the territory while now they control only ten percent. The Serbs are to get 54 percent, and currently control more than 70 percent of the territories.

Krajisnik announced the R.S. parliament is to be convened soon at which its deputies will be informed about the developments concerning the negotiations as well as a new platform for possible return to the Geneva negotiating table adopted.

Over 800 Killed in Three-Month Battle for Mostar

LD0409102993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0924 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Pale, Sep 4 (TANJUG)—Over 800 people have been killed and 15,000 driven away during the three-month old Moslem-Croat battles for Mostar in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina, Moslem sources in Sarajevo said on Friday [3 September].

The Moslem health centre in Sarajevo released a statement saying that since the Croatian Defence Council (HVO—Army of Bosnian Croats) and the Army of the Republic of Croatia attacked the left bank of the Neretva River in Mostar, 310 peole were killed and over 500 were either killed or disappeared on the right bank.

More than 10,000 people, mainly Moslems, were held in concentration camps and 15,000 people were forced to flee their homes, the statement said. In an improvised hospital on Neretva's left bank 2,560 wounded were treated and 651 underwent surgery. Over 2,500 cases of contageous intestinal diseases were registered.

The Moslem-controlled part of Mostar has a population of over 65,000, half of whom are refugees, the statement said. The Moslem army, in coordination with the HVO, over a year ago siezed the left bank of the Neretva River (then controlled by the Serbs) driving away 23,000 Serbs from Mostar alone and close to 40,000 Serbs from the entire Neretva River valley.

After the Vance-Owen plan gave Mostar to the Croats, the Moslem-Croat political and military alliance against the Serbs broke down, and on (?May) 9 this year, the Croats launched their offensive. their aim is to take over the entire city which has already been proclaimed the capital of the Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia (state of Bosnian Croats).

Destruction of Mostar, Muslim Exodus Reported

LD0409171593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1644 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Belgrade, September 4 (TANJUG)—The city of Mostar has experienced new heavy destruction in the so far fiercest artillery duels over the past 24 hours between the Moslems and Croats in the fighting for Mostar, the Bosnian Serb military sources said.

A large number of buildings were either damaged or totally destroyed. The Moslem radio claims 20 Moslems were wounded, while the number of those under the debris, which no one is attempting to clear up, is unknown. The representatives of the Bosnian Croats claim the Moslems shelled the settlement of Djikovina on the bank of the Neretva River killing 5 Croatian civilians and wounding 18 others.

The Bosnian Croats repeated artillery attacks on Blagaj, south of Mostar, on Saturday morning.

The Bosnian Croats claim Moslems were preparing for a new large-scale offensive in the Mostar valley and that it was only a matter hours before it is launched.

The Croatian side was accusing UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] of helping the Moslems in the preparations for the new offensive claiming UNPROFOR was transporting Moslem troops in their armored personnel carries to certain most advanced posts as well as delivering for them ammunition and arms.

At least 10,000 Moslem refugees arrived over the past three weeks to the areas of Jablanica and Konjic, who, as the Moslem Sarajevo radio reported, citing UNHCR sources, fled Croatian terror in western Herzegovina.

The same sources claim that the Croats expelled some 1,200 Moslem women, children and the elderly from Capljina and the nearby Stolac in the past week and that they all came to Jablanica.

The UNHCR has announced that 3,000 Moslem civilians over the recent weeks came to the Jablanica-Konjic region from Blagaj and from Mt Igman and that another 2,000 Moslem refugees arrived from Prozor, REUTERS reported from Sarajevo.

The situation in this area has deteriorated drastically, as the convoys with food and medicine encounter many problems when coming to the Jablanica area, the Sarajevo radio said, citing the UNHCR.

The road for delivering humanitarian aid to Zenica and Sarajevo has been closed because of armed clashes between the Moslems and Croats (HVO) in the area of Gornji Vakuf region, the Moslem Sarajevo, radio reported, citing information gained from UNHCR.

Muslims Demand Sanctions Against Croatia

LD0409201093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1852 GMT 4 Sep 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, September 4 (TANJUG)—Moslems from Mostar and Herzegovina on Saturday [4 September] sent a public appeal to the government and pro-Moslem presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo, asking them to proclaim the neighbouring Republic of Croatia aggressor and demand that economic and other sanctions be imposed against it.

The appeal, which was carried by Moslem Radio Sarajevo, demands that all refugees of Moslem origin withdraw form the Republic of Croatia in order to escape "the status of hostages and captives which is intended for them."

The appeal urges that a representative of the town of Mostar be included among the Moslem delegates who are negotiating in Geneva, and that the problem of Mostar be internationalized in order to "protect human lives and cultural-historical values" and that comprehensive aid be sent to Mostar and Herzegovina.

Armed forces of neighbouring Croatia are engaged in the conflict between Bosnian Moslems and Croats, who are fiercely fighting for territories in Herzegovina and central Bosnia.

There was heavy fighting between units of the Moslem Army and armed forces of Bosnian Croats (HVO) [Croatian Defense Council] in the region of Zepce and Zavidovici in central Bosnia on Saturday, Croatian radio reported.

The radio also said that Moslem units used mortars, antiaircraft machine-guns and infantry weaponry to fire at HVO positions and that they attempted to break through the southern part of the front with infantry units on two occasions.

The local HVO units strongly returned fire and did not allow the Moslem forces to move from their initial positions, the Croatian radio said.

Muslim Offensive in Central Bosnia Continues

LD0509093993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Excerpts] A powerful infantry and artillery attack began on the entire territory of the Lasva valley in central Bosnia at 0500 hours this morning. The Muslim Army launched its most ferocious attacks on the area between Vitez and Nova Bila, we read in this morning's statement for the public, issued by the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] General Staff. [passage omitted]

The Muslim offensive, that commenced yesterday, has also continued in the Busovaca, Kiseljak, and Zavidovici areas, the same source reports.

Army Reports Success in Novi Travnik

AU0609094193

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 6 September carries in its regular 20-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 3d Corps Press Center reports that "in comparison with the last few days, the intensity of enemy attacks on the fronts in the zone of responsibility of the 3d Corps has let up significantly, even though the extreme elements of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] have renewed their attacks in the areas of Vitez and Novi Travnik. As for the Gornji Vakuf commune, the attacks by [Bosnian Croat leader Mate] Boban's units have continued over the last 24 hours, albeit with abated intensity. Yesterday, the HVO intensified attacks with the aim of extending their territory. However, in a fierce and precise counterattack, the fighters of our army liberated the village of (?Jotle), pushing the enemy units well back toward Vitez." The report says that "after yesterday's attempt by the HVO to push back our defense lines in Novi Travnik, our fighters counterattacked, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy, and moved forward the defense lines, thus liberating a part of the town that was under the extremists' control."

The Bosna Operative Group reports from Zavidovici that "during the night the united enemy intensified attacks with recoilless guns against the defense lines of (?Dubravice). Antiaircraft machine guns, submachine guns, and small arms fire can be heard this morning on the left bank of the Bosna River."

Reporting from Doboj, Mirudin Aldobasic says that "during the night the aggressor from Mt. Ozren fired at civilian targets, while Putnikovo Brdo, Ularice, Matuzici, and Mravici are still under attack this morning. It has become common practice for the enemy helicopters to start flying with the first evening hours from Banja Luka and Modrica toward Mt. Ozren. This happened again last night. The enemy has also been concentrating new forces on this front, suggesting more attacks are to follow."

In his report from Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic describes yesterday's attacks by the "united enemy" and says that "there was some enemy provocative mortar and small arms fire overnight at the defense positions."

Hamiz Deronjic reports from Brcko that "the artillery attack that the enemy launched early yesterday evening continued throughout the night. The enemy fired 60-mm and 82-mm mortars, and used Bofors, and Broving snipers against Lipovac, the central part of Brcko's defense, and the area of Dubravice Donje. Later on the Serb aggressor fired 120-mm mortars from Cadjavac at the defense lines in Omerbegovaca and Vranovaca. Throughout the night the enemy shelled Djukici with a cannon from an armored transporter, and fired 82-mm mortars at the Djukici-Bajici direction. Hundreds of

artillery shells were fired at the defense lines." He says that "the enemy is hurriedly bringing in reinforcements, and regrouping his forces. Last night enemy tanks carried out maneuvers along the stretch facing our positions on the Lipovac-(?Kladje)-Djukici direction."

The Gradacac Information Center reports that "there were some intensified activities yesterday evening but the situation calmed down and the night passed in relative quiet. Our reconnaissance units have not registered any more significant movements of the enemy's forces. This morning is quiet in Gradacac."

Reporting from Zvornik, Nijaz Banjanovic says that "during the night the Chetniks used 82-mm mortars from Boskovici against (?Satma). They aiso fired with an antiaircraft machine gun from Pecina at Kobilici, Kraljevici, and (?Satma)."

The 3d Operative Group reports from Kladanj that "were it not for sporadic small arms fire, one could say that the last 24 hours have been quiet on this front."

Muslim Shelling Reported

LD0609193793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Report by correspondent Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpts] The Muslim army started shelling the part of Novi Travnik controlled by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] this afternoon. Two civilians have been wounded.

The already unbearable living conditions for the civilian population in this part of Novi Travnik have been made worse by the lack of water. The Muslim army has switched off the city's water supply and so civilians have been compelled to line up for water under constant shelling. This has increased the already huge number of civilian casualties: over the past three days alone five citizens of Novi Travnik have been killed while 28 others have received light or serious injuries. [passage omitted]

Jadranko Prlic, prime minister of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, had talks with a delegation of EC observers: he reiterated that the HVO will not obstruct the passage of humanitarian convoys, but that international humanitarian organizations are expected to distribute humanitarian aid in a fair way, because, according to reports coming from central Bosnia, the Muslim population has been receiving three times more food than the local Croat population. Prlic also warned of the fact that the Muslim side has been receiving ammunition and combat equipment under the guise of humanitarian aid.

HVO Forces Reported 'Neutralized' Near Gornji Vakuf

LD0409200493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] At the end of the review of developments in the war, let us look at how things were today on the battlefields within the zone of responsibility of the 3rd Corps [of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army]. Here is a report by Gordana (?Risovic):

[Risovic] [word indistinct] aggressor intensified its attacks on the battlefields in the 3rd Corps' zone of responsibility during the past 24 hours, especially in the area of Gornji Vakuf, as well as around Zepce and Zavidovici, the press center of the Third Corps reports.

On the Gornji Vakuf battlefield, after fierce (?enemy) artillery attacks on the town and its defenders, extremists in the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] attempted to launch an infantry breakthrough, which was successfully repelled. During the course of this attack, soldiers of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina neutralized many HVO fighters.

Croats Say 4,500 Held in Muslim Camps

LD0609161693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] More than 4,650 Croats are currently being kept in prisons in Bosnia-Herzegovina, according to a publication entitled "The suffering of the Croats in the Bosnia-Herzegovina war, 1991-93," recently published by the office of the president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. The publication stresses that are more than 4,500 Croat prisoners in 34 Muslim camps and 150 Croats in the Serb camp of Manjaca.

HVO Accuses UNPROFOR of Aiding Muslims in Mostar

LD0309182893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] We have received reliable information that illustrates the biased approach of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] in this conflict because the peacekeepers are helping the Muslim side, says a statement released late this afternoon in Mostar by the main headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO].

UNPROFOR's vehicles are transporting Muslim units to the front line in the Gornji Vakuf area, while the Muslims are taking advantage of the presence of the peacekeeping forces on the Mostar front to launch attacks on the HVO.

On the other hand, the HVO is showing consideration for UNPROFOR's presence by refusing to become engaged in combat operations thus far, despite continuous Muslim provocations.

The same statement says the HVO will no longer tolerate such conduct on the part of UNPROFOR.

UNHCR Reports on Condition of Expelled Muslims

AU0409170393 Paris AFP in English 1642 GMT 4 Sep 93

[By Pierre Lhuillery]

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Sept 4 (AFP)—Thousands of Moslem civilians have been expelled from south and central Bosnia, including former inmates of Bosnian Croat prisons resembling concentration camp victims, U.N. refugee officials said Saturday [4 September].

The greater majority of the wave of more than 10,000 men, women and children have been driven by the Bosnian Croat militia (HVO) to the town of Jablanica, which is held by the mainly-Moslem Bosnian forces, said Ray Wilkinson, Sarajevo spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

They include males released from various HVO detention centres, the spokesman added.

Many ex-inmates "have broken fingers and bruises... from prison beatings" while most are extremely thin and look like "concentration camp victims from the Second World War," Wilkinson said, citing a report by a UNHCR official who spent several hours in the town some 60 kilometres (35 miles) southwest of here.

The news came as the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) announced a dramatic intensification in clashes between Bosnian Croat forces and the Bosnian army in their battle for the southern city of Mostar and Gornji Vakuf and several central Bosnian towns.

Wilkinson added that many of the 10,000 civilians, who have been expelled during recent weeks, arrived in Jablanica with no personal possessions and were "already begging for bread in the streets."

The UNHCR hoped to send a representative to Jablanica soon to evaluate the expelled civilians' needs, which were already extremely urgent, especially in view of the approaching winter, the spokesman said.

Wilkinson could not confirm reports of HVO militiamen deliberately opening fire on expelled civilians.

But he said that suitcases, bags, clothing, blankets and personal possessions were strewn along the road from the Croat checkpoint of Vrdi near Jablanica, indicating that "the civilians indeed fled in terror."

Some 800 Moslem women, children and pensioners were expelled from Caplina and Stolac, south of Mostar, arriving in Jablanica on August 24.

Some 400 others arrived there three days later, while 450 male former detainees reached the town on August 31, Wilkinson added.

About 3,000 Moslems were expelled by the Croats from the Blagaj region to Jablanica and by the Serbs from Mount Igman, which overlooks the capital, to the Konjic region, Wilkinson said.

He added that about 2,000 Moslems from the Prozor region had also been forcibly moved by the Croats to Kostanica, near Jablanica. [passage omitted]

Abdic Says Izetbegovic Guilty of 'Political Terrorism'

LD0409185493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1814 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Bihac, September 4 (TANJUG)—Fikret Abdic, member of the pro-Moslem Presidency of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, described Saturday [4 September] Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic and his closest associates as war mongers and accused them of political terrorism and forcible mobilization of Moslems who have no wish to go to war.

Addressing the Moslem people of the Cazin region (northwestern Bosnia), Abdic said on the local Bihac radio that a new face of terrorism has emerged in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina—political terrorism. Abdic said war mongers Izetbegovic and his closest associates Ejup Ganic and Haris Silajdzic, who seek war and new territories which in no way could belong to them were applying this political terrorism.

"It could easily happen that if war continued we are left also without the 30 percent of the territories offered us. We must be realistic and state the truth that the largest part of the industrial and production facilities were situated in the Moslem republic, so that this economic consideration cancels the territorial loss," he said.

Sending the message to "all those who carry out new mobilizations without considering whether the newly-mobilized Moslem young men wish to fight," Abdic stressed he would propose to co-chairmen of the Geneva conference Owen and Stoltenberg a referendum of the Moslem people be organized at which Moslems would under international control decide which they prefer—war or peace.

The civil war between the Bosnian Serbs, Moslems and Croats has raged for full 17 months.

The peace negotiations in Geneva were interrupted Wednesday as the Moslem side was dissatisfied with the proposed map of ethnic states into which the future confederation of Bosnia-Herzegovina should have been divided into. The Serb side has a day earlier made certain concessions to the Moslem side, but the Croatian side refused to cede some twenty kilometers along the Adriatic coast, which, according to the map, went to the Croatian Bosnian state, Herzeg-Bosna.

After the talks were interrupted, both the Serb and the Croatian sides have stated readiness to participate if they are resumed.

NATO Planes Drop Parcels Over Bihac

LD0309195093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1608 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Bihac, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—NATO alliance planes have again begun frequent flights and air space violations in the western part of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbian military sources have said.

The sources add that NATO war planes flew again today over Kljuc, Petrovac, Grmec, and the future borders of the republic of Srpska and the Cazinska Krajina. They go on to say that the planes flew mostly in the air space above Bihac, Cazin, and Velika Kladusa. Transport planes—flying at an altitude of 300 to 400 meters, together with military planes—were seen dropping parachute parcels with unknown contents over the Muslim enclave.

Serbs Threaten To Respond to Muslim Attacks

LD0609174793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Pale, Sept 6 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb army command at Sarajevo has issued an order to the troops under its command, effective as of 7 a.m. (05:00 G.M.T.) on Monday, September 6, to respond to every attack by the Moslem forces. The order has been prompted by the fact that 10 Serb fighters and a number of civilians have been killed in the area since the signing of the latest ceasefire in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina.

'This is eloquent proof that Moslem troops are constantly violating the ceasefire on the Sarajevo front,' says a statement released by the local Bosnian Serb army command.

The statement further says that the mounting casualties during a ceasefire, which took effect on July 30, 'have necessitated the decision to respond with all available means to every enemy attack on the Serb positions.'

'It is quite clear that the Moslem forces plan to provoke conflicts in the area of Sarajevo and furnish a pretext for a foreign military intervention. We are all aware of this, our every soldier knows this, and nobody any longer has the right to sacrifice the lives of the Serbs and to watch them being killed in the Serb-populated parts of Sarajevo, while the Moslem-held parts of the city live a normal life,' the statement says.

Constant violations of the ceasefire by the Moslems have been the subject of a number of protest notes to the U.N. Protection Force, the statement says.

The side which cannot or will not control its troops will take the consequences, the statement says in conclusion.

Hepatitis, Enterocolitis Registered in Sarajevo

AU0609163493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Sept 93

[Text] An epidemic of infectious hepatitis continues to spread in Sarajevo. Twenty-nine new cases have been registered in the last seven days. This increases the total number of infected people to 98. The situation is particularly serious in the area of (?Sok) Bunar, where the greatest number of cases have been registered. That is why it has been decided, at the Sarajevo city Executive Committee meeting, that further public notification is necessary. The citizens need to be informed about the ways in which one can fight this dangerous disease. This should at least somewhat alleviate the problem of poor hygiene and help prevent the epidemic from spreading.

Moreover, Fahrudin Kulenovic, head of the Epidemiology Institute, said at the city government meeting that during the past seven days 351 new cases of enterocolitis have been registered in the Sarajevo area. Another very worrisome thing is the increase of tuberculosis cases, which according to experts might be the next infectious disease to turn into an epidemic.

Dr. Kulenovic compared the epidemiologic situation with the situation last year, and said that the number of deaths caused by infectious diseases has increased three and a half times.

* Commanders Report on Gornji Vakuf Struggle

93P50287A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 1 Sep 93 p 8

[Report by Jamil Rufa'il in central Bosnia and Eyup Stetkovic in Belgrade]

[Excerpts] In spite of the fact that Gornji Vakuf is a small town of not more than 4,000 people in its center and 25,000 including its suburbs, it appears to be one of the areas of major contention in Bosnia-Herzegovina as a result of the violent battles that are going on there, with the Muslims and Croats both striving to control it. [Passage omitted on news reports]

The importance of this town comes from its position along one of the most important roads in Bosnia, extending from the Adriatic seacoast to the capital, Sarajevo, Banja Luka, and even Zagreb. It passes by the towns of Jajce, Bugojno, Mostar (the second-largest city in Bosnia), Jablanica (site of a major hydroelectric stqation), and Konjic (containing a complete military base in mountiain tunnels built by the late President Josef Broz Tito to be his headquarters in time of war).

Gornji Vakuf, which means "high places," lies outside the scope of the Serbian ambitions, because it is in central Bosnia, far from all of the areas that have been included in their calculations. There were very few Serbs in it at any time, and they have not been there at all since the outbreak of the war. Meanwhile, there are 70 percent Muslims in the town and 28 percent Croats. In all of its

environs, there are 56 percent Muslims and 43 percent Croats. [passage omitted on UN partition plan]

To check on what is going on in Gornji Vakuf amid the contradictory news reports, AL-HAYAH contacted two military commanders in the region, one Muslim and the other Croatian, by radio.

One of the commanders of the Bosnian Army in the town, Muslim Captain Safi [?Abrishimovic], said, "Here there is no dividing line between our forces and the Croatian forces. We continually exchange control of positions with sudden raids and heavy artillery shelling. The only positions that have not been taken—i.e., changed hands—for close to a month are in the town center, which the Muslims control completely, in addition to a number of neighboring villages. The forces of the Croatian Defense Council, which are supported by the regular army of the Republic of Croatia, have consolidated their control over the strategic heights that command the town, Makljen and [?Vilino Gomno], and are shelling the Muslims' positions from them.

He added, "Close to 1,000 Croat shells have fallen on us today, which is average. Naturally, we reply with a similar barrage, but with less intensity, because we are very thrifty with our weapons, concentrate on the more important areas, and hit the target. The Croat shelling is generally random, since the Croats are not concerned with running out of weapons. The Croatian Republic has established a continual stream of trucks, aircraft, and helicopters to supply them."

The Muslim commander explained that the Croats have tried many times to gain control of the town but have failed. He added, "Our information is that the Croats will launch widespread attacks from the city of Prozor 28 km to the south, which they control. We are ready to resist them and estimate that the battle will be a fierce one."

Captain [?Abrishimovic] said of conditions in Gornji Vakuf and its suburbs that, "life in the town is like hell. There are no undamaged buildings, and the lumber mill and textile mill have been completely destroyed. The Croats have burned 10 Muslim villages nearby, and a few days ago perpetrated a massacre in the village of [?Dobrashje], killing more than 100 Muslims.

He added, "Most of the civilians are Muslims and Croats from Gornji Vakuf and its environs. Most of the Muslims have fled to the city of Bugojno to the northwest (20 km), which is controlled by the Bosnian Army, but their lives there are very hard, since hunger and disease are spreading among them due to the Croatian forces not allowing the passage of the aid convoys."

Colonel Dobrosav Mujic, one of the senior commanders of the Croatian Defense Council in the Gornji Vakuf region, said to AL-HAYAH that his forces are capable of taking over the area at any time they want, and that this may now occur since the parliament (of the Croatian Herceg-Bosna Republic) has decided that Gornji Vakuf will be part of the Croatian lands. He added, "We have imposed our control over a number of important positions."

He opined that the Muslims control most of the arms factories in the region, and said, "The arms factory near Bugojno is in their hands and is in partial operation, but the Konjic factory, which they control also, is of great importance, since it is located under the mountains and supplies the necessary good quality arms and ammunition for them. It is important support for their war effort. We control an arms factory in the town of Novi Travnik, and have been able to operate it in spite of the damage that has been caused due to the fighting."

He charged that the Muslims had transferred large forces from the city of Travnik and elsewhere to the area, and said that they had deployed them around Gornji Vakuf "to counter our attacks on the town. However, we have taken the necessary measures to break through all resistance by the Muslim forces inside the town or around it."

Granic: Croats Ready To Continue Talks

LD0309192093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, in his statement to HINA today stressed that the Croat side—and particularly the representatives of the Republic of Croatia—never walked out of the Geneva negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Asked by HINA to comment on statements by U.S. officials regarding the collapse of the Geneva negotiations, Minister Granic said: The development of the events during the negotiations has very clearly shown that neither of the Croatian parties exercised any obstinacy or intransigence. We are very aware, as a government and as a state, of what an uncontrollable, predictable, mass exodus can bring—not only of Croats, but also of Muslims from the wartorn Bosnia-Herzegovina—if the destruction of war continues. We know what it means and how much it costs to care for over 1 million refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, something that everybody acknowledges we have been doing. Out of this number, nearly four-fifths are Muslims, who have passed through or stayed in our country since the beginning of the war.

We have been neither obstinate nor intransigent in this matter. We have accepted them all, regardless of nationality, Granic emphasized. He noted that the solutions offered by Croatia—of which Croatia had encouraged the acceptance by the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina—were the best solutions for everyone.

Many Croats, for the sake of peace, have to stay outside of the Croat republic in the future union, according to the offered peace plan. Let us recall the suffering of the Croats in the Muslim offensive in central Bosnia that is still under way. Therefore, the Croatian side cannot be called obstinate and intransigent with any moral justification; nor is it just to ask the Croatian side for any further, unilateral territorial concessions.

Still convinced that the solution is within reach, the Croatian side will—at the first invitation by the peace conference cochairmen—again sit at the negotiating table as soon as possible. Croatia will make its contribution—as it has done so far and as far as is possible and realistic—toward reaching a just peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croatian foreign minister said in conclusion.

Tudjman Urges Boban To Respect 'Human Dignity'

LD0709000093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, has sent a letter to Mate Boban, president of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna, and state bodies calling for the strictest adherence to international humanitarian law and the law on warfare:

I am addressing you and all bodies of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna with a feeling of deep, historical responsibility at a fateful moment for the survival and future of the Croat nation in the neighboring republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and for the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state union of three equal nations.

We welcomed the proclamation of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna as the unavoidable outcome of the difficult and tragic events, caused first by the Serb and then the Muslim aggression, as the expression of the political will of the Croat nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and as a guarantee of its sovereignty and equality in all parts of a unitary and independent Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Taking this as a starting point, I would like once again to send you the strongest appeal stressing that in all your actions you should be guided by respect for human dignity, for basic human values and rights, and the strictest adherence to international humanitarian law and the law on warfare. The Serb and Muslim aggressions against the Croat areas, and the horrendous war as a whole, have inflicted incredible suffering on innocent people—women, children, the elderly and infirm, the wounded, prisoners, and residents of besieged towns and villages.

It is the obligation of all those who can influence that situation to do everything to prevent, stop, or alleviate this suffering. That is an obligation before one's own conscience, before the conscience of one's own people, and before the international public.

Therefore, I am resolutely appealing to you to condemn most vehemently all the violations of the international warfare and humanitarian law and to do everything necessary to secure humane treatment of prisoners in the POW centres on the territory of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna in line with the international humanitarian law and Geneva conventions.

I am also inviting you to allow ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] access to POW centers they have not visited so that they can freely make a list of POW's and organize their release and all-for-all exchanges in line with international conventions.

Reminding you of my interventions so far regarding free passage for humanitarian convoys, I would again like to appeal to you not to allow any obstacles to the dispatch of humanitarian aid to all those in need, and for you to offer help to all international humanitarian organizations and the United Nations in performing their humanitarian mission.

At the same time, I am inviting all other warring factions in Bosnia-Herzegovina to do the same to finally put a stop to the humanitarian nightmare which has been oppressing the civilian population of Bosnia-Herzegovina for nearly two years, and to contribute also in that way to the peace process and finding a just peace. This is in the interest of all nations on the territory of the long-suffering Bosnia-Herzegovina, but is also in the

interest of peace and stability in the entire region, says the letter sent by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to Mate Boban.

Krajina Serbs Reject 'Confederation' Idea

AU0709114193 Paris AFP in English 1125 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 7 (AFP)—The president of the self-proclaimed Serb republic in Croatia has refused any idea of a confederated Croatia that would join Serbs and Croats in the same state, the Belgrade daily BORBA said.

Goran Hadzic, head of the "Serb republic of Krajina," said it was "out of the question even to accept a confederation."

"We refuse any cohabitation with" the Croats, Hadzic said, stating that Croatia should recognize his republic.

"We want to negotiate with Croatia as equal partners, (Croatian President Franjo) Tudman on one side and me on the other," said Hadzic.

Sporadic fighting has pitted Croatian forces and the republic's Serb separatists, who control 28 percent of Croatia.

Leaders of the UN forces in former Yugoslavia have recently warned about tension that could cause a resumption of war in Croatia.

Eight Killed in Attack on Serb-Held Krajina

LD0709094993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0840 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] Knin, 7 Sep (TANJUG)—Several civilians were injured and killed as a result of yesterday's fierce attack by the Croatian Army on the village of Mirlovic Polje in the broad area of Drnis, the Serbian army of Krajina headquarters announced today.

Although more detailed information on the civilian casualties is still being awaited, a TANJUG correspondent has learned unofficially that eight people were killed following an attack by a sabotage-terrorist group on Mirlovic Polje.

There was fighting almost all day yesterday on the Vrlika-Sinj and Drnis part of the battlefield. The echoes of artillery duels could also be heard in Knin.

There was no peace either on other parts of the north Dalmatian and Lika battlefields. Croatian forces used howitzers, guns, and multiple-rocket launchers on the villages of Biljane Gornje and Biljane Donje, while on the Lika battlefield they fired mortars on the broad area of the village of Vojnovac.

Bomb Explodes in Shop Owned by Muslim Leader

AU0709082893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] A bomb, which was planted in a shop owned by a prominent leader of the Muslim community, exploded in the center of Zagreb. Agencies report that there were no casualties, but that the damage caused was considerable. The owner of the shop is Salim Sabic, chairman of the assembly of the Islamic community of Croatia and Slovenia.

NATO Helicopter Stops Passenger Boat Near Dubrovnik

LD0709114193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] The Croatian Ministry of Maritime Affairs, Transport, and Communications has issued a statement saying that at 1800 on 5 September a NATO helicopter stopped the Postira passenger boat sailing the regular Ploce-Dubrovnik line around half a nautical mile from the island of Jakljan in Croatian territorial waters. On this occasion the boat's captain was asked to give details of the boat, number of passengers, and its navigation details. This created alarm among the passengers, particularly the children.

The Croatian Ministry of Maritime Affairs, Transport, and Communications has sent a letter to NATO Liaison Officer Colonel (Dan Clarke) protesting about this unpleasant event. The letter says, among other things: We are surprised by such behavior by the helicopter crew under your command, even more so because the event took place within Croatian territorial waters and was only a small passenger boat sailing a regular course.

Opposition to Violation of Judiciary's Independence

AU0209163093 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Statement by Slovene Government; in Ljubljana on 2 September—announcer read]

[Text] The government has, so far, not discussed the problems concerning the division of authority or the problems in the implementation of the principle of judiciary's independence, as its activities depart entirely from the clearly written and defined legal principles.

Any statements by government members that would be contrary to these initial positions would not match the policy and activities of the government. Within its competence, the government will constantly strive to consistently safeguard the judiciary's independence through its actions and the proposal of suitable legal solutions. There are no differences within the government regarding this.

Within its competence, the government has, even so far, discussed continually the information and interim reports of the incumbent ministries to help unveil the Maribor affair of illegal arms in the quickest and most efficient way.

At today's session, the government charged the incumbent ministries, that is to say, the ministers, to immediately prepare additional reports on the realization of the tasks prescribed to them by decrees. The government will, at once, study these reports, monitor the emerging situation, and, within its competence and the competence of the state administration, make sure that the Maribor arms' affair is thoroughly investigated and explained as soon as possible.

The government expects that the incumbent judiciary organs will also carry out their work efficiently and successfully and thus fulfill the grounded expectations and demands of the public for an expeditious resolution of the Maribor affair.

Regarding the Maribor affair, the government did not, and will not, take or support any stances or statements that violate the independence of the judiciary.

Defense Ministry Denies Smuggling Arms To Albania

LD0609160693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1441 GMT 6 Sep 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Ljubljana, Sept 6 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian Defence Ministry has denied any connection with a Slovenian truck carrying weapons to Albania.

In a statement released on Monday, the ministry denied issuing any permits or in another way being involved in the arms transport, which Greek border police discovered on the crossing to Albania on September 1 and detained the driver, Ferenc Suhodolc.

The truck contained technical and electronic equipment, the statement said.

High Albanian officials have recently visited Slovenia, which violently seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation after a war of June-July 1991.

The Slovenian Foreign Ministry has already interceded with the Greek authorities and requested that the truck should be permitted to proceed to its destination, insisting there were no reasons for it to be detained.

The Slovenian press on Monday reported from Greece that Suhodolc was ferrying a truck-load of sophisticated weaponry—anti-tank and laser reconnaissance systems, that his papers for the customs were in order, but that he did not have the necessary permits from the Greek authorities.

Suhodolc said the weapons were meant to be displayed at a military exposition in Turkey.

Two months ago, a "humanitarian shipment" of 120 tons of weapons and ammunition destined for the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and for the Moslems and Croats in war-ravaged Bosnia-Herzegovina was discovered in Maribor.

Early last week, Slovenia's President Milan Kucan and Defence Minister Janez Jansa traded accusations of involvement in the smuggling of weapons for Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In late September 1991, the U.N. Security Council imposed a ban on arms sales to any of the six republics of former Yugoslavia. The ban is still in effect.

Federal

Macedonia Has 'Drastically Tightened' Border With FRY

AU0509164493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has stepped up its border procedures at FRY border crossings.

According to today's issue of POLITIKA, which quotes the reports of foreign agencies and on-the-spot witnesses from the Macedonian-Yugoslav border, the Macedonian border guards, the army, the police, and customs officers assisted by 360 U.S. blue berets—of whom it has been claimed in the past that they are in Macedonia to preserve peace—have drastically tightened what has already been very strict border crossing control measures.

Trucks have been turned away from the border and it has been said that in future only medical cargoes will be allowed to pass.

The Macedonian Government's decision to observe the sanctions against the FRY so rigorously was passed at a time when its relations with the United States are drawing rapidly closer. The Macedonian Foreign Ministry has announced that the United States will undertake steps to establish fully-fledged diplomatic relations with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In return, the Macedonian officers have practically closed the border with the FRY, with the expert and moral support of the U.S. blue berets.

Minister Deplores Measures

LD0609201793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1957 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Belgrade, September 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Trade Relations Milorad Unkovic said on Monday [6 September] that a possible decision by the government of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia to halt 'humanitarian imports' would be contrary to the United Nations (U.N.) resolution on humanitarian aid.

Trade between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia has been completely blocked at all common border crossings for three days because of the sudden decision of the Macedonian authorities that freight traffic in future take place only at two crossings, and that the cargo is strictly controlled.

Unkovic told TANJUG that the federal government had information that the Yugoslav-Macedonian border was in fact closed also for humanitarian goods.

Yugoslavia finds any decision on additional mutual blockades especially difficult, Unkovic said, pointing out that the sanctions would be lifted one day and that neighbours would have to continue to live together in these regions.

Unkovic said that the Yugoslav government had on several occasions expressed the desire for good relations with all countries in the region, especially neighbouring ones, which are recording heavy losses themselves because of the embargo against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The U.N. Security Council introduced severe comprehensive sanctions against Yugoslavia in late May last year because of its alleged involvement in the war of local Serbs, Moslems and Croats in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

TANJUG Reports Incident on Border With Albania

LD0409195693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1914 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Podgorica, Sept 4 (TANJUG)—On the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) and Albania, infantry fire from an ambush was opened at 7.25 A.M. (0525 GMT) Saturday [4 September] on Yugoslav patrolmen returning from their routine mission in the Trokus post area in the Plav region.

Patrolman Ranko Bojovic, 31, was seriously wounded in this attack, said the information service of the Second Yugoslav Army Command.

An investigation team and the commander of the Podgorica Corps arrived at the site of the incident. The wounded soldier was taken for treatment first to Plav and [word indistinct] in Montenegro and then to the military hospital in Belgrade. His life is not endangered.

Since the beginning of this year, a total of 51 incidents have taken place on the F.R.Y.-Albanian border. Half this number accounts for armed incidents.

Maj.-Gen. Blagoje Kovacevic, in charge of border security, said in an article in Wednesday's EKSPRES POLITIKA daily that border incidents on the F.R.Y.-Albanian border were taking place "whenever the F.R. of Yugoslavia comes under pressure of any of the big powers, while a number of indications suggest that Albania has not been doing this on its own initiative.

"Albania is keeping tensions high on the border with the F.R.Y. and upholding Kosovo Albanians' separatist aspirations, while on the international plane its different charges against Serbia and the F.R.Y. are aimed to internationalize the problem of Kosovo. For the materialization of such plans, Albania would be very much pleased to see as many incidents and unrests as possible on the Yugoslav-Albanian border," said Maj.-Gen. Kovacevic.

Jovanovic, Ukraine's Zlenko Expected To Discuss Sanctions

AU0509191993 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Report by Djordje Milosevic from Moscow]

[Excerpt] After his visit to China FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic arrived in Moscow. He will proceed to Kiev this evening where he will hold talks with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko.

This is the first visit by a FRY foreign minister to Ukraine since its independence following the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The visit is taking place on the initiative of both sides.

It is expected that the bilateral relations of Yugoslavia and Ukraine under the conditions of implementation of sanctions against Yugoslavia will be the main topic of the talks. Ukraine is one of the countries that also suffer enormous losses because of the sanctions. It is expected that they will also discuss the situation in former Yugoslavia and the efforts that Yugoslavia is making to achieve a political solution for the conflict in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

China Willing To Help Lift Sanctions Against FRY

AU0409165093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Let us listen to what Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic stated in our "On the Spot" program today, judging the talks in Beijing and China's position toward the crisis on the territory of former Yugoslavia:

[Begin Jovanovic recording] The position of China and our Chinese friends has been invariable. They have always regretted the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the wars on Yugoslav territory and have always supported resolution of all problems by peaceful means, which, at the same time, was our position, too. In this sense, they expressed regret that the Geneva talks had been interrupted, because, just like all of us, they expected that the talks would end with complete success. They know that it is impossible to imagine an alternative to peace and for this reason they expect restoration of the peace process. In this sense they expressed their support and sympathies for the peace efforts that Yugoslavia is making in order to resolve not merely the Bosnian crisis but the entire Yugoslav crisis, and belief that Yugoslavia will continue with such efforts, which, together with the matching efforts of other sides, would result in resumption of peace negotiations and final restoration of peace.

Within this process, the Chinese side clearly indicated that together with other countries it will invest its efforts for the sanctions, which are unilateral and have been unfairly imposed upon Yugoslavia, to be lifted as quickly as possible. In these talks and on other occasions, also, China has clearly voiced its opposition not merely to sanctions as an aspect of international behavior in general, but to all attempts of imposing foreign will upon Yugoslavia, that is, to the use force in the resolution of any problem, including the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. I personally believe that in the continuation of the talks we will put forward further proofs that China, which is going through an unprecedented economic boom right now, will grow into an increasingly important factor of stability and balance in the international relations. From such a China that pursues a principled policy which does not succumb to speculative reasons and selfish interests, other smaller countries can only benefit. [end recording]

Minister Vladislav Jovanovic successfully completed his visit to Beijing and has left for Moscow.

Prime Minister Says Hyperinflation Halted

LD0709112593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1053 GNT 7 Sep 93

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Sep (TANJUG)—Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic stated today that the hyperinflationary surge has been halted and that it is certain that inflation in September will be considerably lower than in August.

In the course of his visit to the Zemun-based livestock farming institute, he told journalists that a session of the federal government economic council has been scheduled for next week. It will examine conditions for the adoption of a consistent program of stabilization which will be implemented once the sanctions have been lifted.

Cooperation Between Tudjman, Milosevic Discussed

93BA1411D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14-15 Aug 93 p IX

[Interview with refugee Academician Gojko Nikolis by Frane Cetinic; place and date not given: "Instead of Champagne, They Are Drinking Blood"]

[Text] [Cetinic] The last time we had agreed on a moratorium on interviews. This time I was the first to return fire....

[Nikolis] Half a year has passed since the day we spoke—much longer than those cease-fire agreements. You want to hear a review of my assessments and claims at that time. In spite of all my desire not to appear narcissistic, it seems to me that later events and today's situation in the southern Slavic area, unfortunately, have confirmed most of my positions.

The nature of the war: It has been confirmed as hypocritical, cynical, thieving, genocidal, a war of conquest, and economically destructive. With serious casualties, territories are being conquered for Greater Serbia and Greater Croatia. The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a civil war, but rather a war of destruction, conquest, exactly according to the fascist and Stalinist model.

The Milosevic-Tudjman parallel: No matter how much they hated each other, they are cooperating today, better than born brothers, in butchering Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Serbian butchers are persecuting Muslims, which is understandable because they are "Turks" (revenge for Kosovo), but it is hard to understand the Croats who are warring against "the flower of the Croatian people." Various "agreements" are in sight. There are even intrigues over the Adriatic (Prevlaka, Konavli, Zadar, and so forth) at the expense of the people there, who could live happily and richly if only the insatiable rulers left them in peace. Admittedly, I must confess that at the time of our interview, I could not even imagine this degree of "cooperation." All the paradoxes and absurdities have been surpassed today. Filth is dominant.

I was wrong about three predictions: the possibility of a civil war in Serbia, the fate of Karadzic, and a reprise of the Nuremberg trial.

There are no acute conditions favoring a civil war in Serbia, at least at this time. There are potential ones.

[Cetinic] Why?

[Nikolis] Because there are no approximately equal and mutually opposed sociopolitical forces in Serbia today. Milosevic's communo-Nazi regime is stronger than the opposition. Milosevic has succeeded in harnessing all social structures (from the mass media to the Academy of Sciences) in the war yoke—bringing them into line. It is a real totalitarian system. It has an enormous police force present everywhere. Civil fear. The people are still stunned by the war's "successes." The opposition is divided, anemic, and without a concrete program, except that it is already concerned about which of the parties and mini-parties will seize power in the future. Recently the opposition has also been intimidated. Perhaps the only comfort is offered by sober individuals, strong personalities and movements, but their influence is barely noticeable in the present situation. At least they are saving their honor.

[Cetinic] What is the future of relations between Serbs and Croats in Croatia?

[Nikolis] Since what should have been done has not been done on either side, and time has run out, and also in view of the war situation, the future is gloomy. If I were to let my imagination run wild, I could cite a lot of different solutions, but I will refrain from that. It would be close to intelligence, although perhaps not to realism, at least not at this moment, for the Serbs and Croats to stop fighting and try to come to an agreement. I believe that on both sides of the front there are many people who want that, but do not dare to come forward because they are afraid of being called traitors. I believe in the peacefulness of the peasant from Zagorje as well as the border "warrior." I believe in intellectuals like the late Rudi Supek and Gajo Petrovic. I believe in the ultimate political effect, along the lines of creating a crisis for Tudjman's government, the effect from the "little actions" that would be conducted by people, citizens, regardless of nationality, religion, and other differences. For example, if injustice or violence is done by the bureaucratic authorities against any citizen, citizens should rally, people, Serbs and Croats together, in defense of the victim. Such little actions should not be underestimated. Everything big started with something little. In order to overcome the hatred, both authorities, the one in Zagreb and the one in Knin, should acknowledge their mistakes and serious responsibility for the conduct of policy to date (if their work can even be called policy). If the Croatian authorities want to keep the Krajina as part of their state, then they should guarantee the Serbs at least the rights that they had in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (institutions, writing, a press, a political position in the Assembly, and so forth). We have to get out of these over 90 years of the old vicious circle "until your annihilation or ours." Otherwise, things will be settled for us by some international judges or Bill Clinton's missiles.

[Cetinic] Also current is the conspicuous aspiration to have the Krajina, as a state, connected with the state of Serbia. How do you view that? Is such an aspiration feasible?

[Nikolis] In the human imagination, everything is "feasible." In this case there are several methods: The first is to dig a tunnel between the Kupa and the Drina; another is to build an overpass bridge across all of Bosnia, and the third method is a corridor. A corridor can be understood only as a geographically defined zone about 20 kilometers wide, completely ethnically cleansed, but also guaranteed against intrusions by ethnically uncleansed gangs on both sides. For that guarantee, however, a Chinese-Berlin wall with a total length of over 1,000 kilometers would have to be erected on both sides. As one can see, the ideas are very attractive, but the technical implementation would be a little more difficult.

[Cetinic] Some observers see the emergence of some new "Yugoslavia" behind all of this bloody chaos.

[Nikolis] A man with normal intelligence has to wonder whether Milosevic and Tudjman are really serious, or whether they are making fun of us—first the destroyers of Yugoslavia (such as it was), and now its builders. They are drawing maps! In vain. It seems to me, however, that their "Yugoslavia" would be a real moral monster—creating some sort of state on the foundations of tens of thousands of corpses, and people beaten and exiled thanks to them. Such a "Yugoslavia" would not live long. The Versailles and AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavias were granite buildings compared to that one of theirs.

[Cetinic] What are the prospects for peace on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and especially Bosnia and Hercegovina?

[Nikolis] None, at least not during the life of this generation and the next one. "Peace" can be concluded

somewhere at a green table, and the leaders can clink glasses of champagne. That kind of peace is rotten in spite of the peacemaking cosmetics. The peoples will continue to drink each other's blood instead of champagne. Too much poison has been injected by fascist-Stalinist propaganda. Mutual crimes cannot be forgotten overnight, and so the spirit of vengeance will reign for a long time to come. Not even the rulers, the signers of peace treaties, actually want peace, however. They base their power on eternal "enemies," and consequently they have to continue rabble-rousing, threats, and the repression and persecution of "the other" people and their own. That is why I am pessimistic about the possibility of peace in the near future, as long as the rulers are what they are. Only their end will mean an end to the warfare. Every effort should be made on the Yugoslav and international scenes to block the rulers' militance and overthrow them.

Sanctions Seen Reinforcing Desired Isolation

93BA1411B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 93 p 11

[Article by Tomislav Dumezic: "The Slow Death of the Dinar"]

[Text] *Isolation favors the regime because dictatorship is incompatible with open borders and an open market, and the free movement of people, ideas, goods, and money.*

The application of the sanctions is leading to the total isolation of the economy and citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]. That is precisely what the current authorities are seeking. Admittedly, the sanctions are slightly excessive and are not always to the taste of the people in power: they would be suited by a certain degree of "selectivity" that they would determine themselves.

Self-Isolation Before the Sanctions

Several reasons indicate that a policy of isolation is precisely what suits the current regime. In the first place, dictatorship is incompatible with a policy of open borders and an open market, and the free movement of people, goods, money, and ideas. In the second place, socialism and an open society do not go together, because opening up leads to the collapse of socialism. In the third place, in an open market only a private economy can survive, in which specific physical persons are the ultimate bearers of the risks and the profits. In the fourth place, an open economy cannot function with worthless money, which in a state like the FRY is primarily used by the ruling structures to rob the population, to maintain unprofitable enterprises, to finance public expenditures, to postpone a social explosion, to provide assistance, etc.

The authorities are aware that they can only survive in a closed economy. That is why they conducted a policy of self-isolation even well before the sanctions were imposed. The first measures were prohibitions, control, permits, and discrimination (tax and customs barriers) against products and services from Slovenia and Croatia, and then from other republics, as well as from abroad. The authorities showed their inclination to steal back at the end of 1990, when at their own initiative they issued somewhat more than 26 billion dinars through the national banks of Serbia and Vojvodina, which could then be converted into foreign exchange at the established exchange rate of one dinar for one German mark (about 3.7 billion marks). The common currency (the dinar) was lavishly used to steal income from other currencies. Thus, for example, up until the end of 1991 Croatia participated in financing the federal state and the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], with which it was at war.

Increasingly Deeper Threshold of Poverty

The abuses of issuance and monetary policy have not diminished, even though the possibility of shifting the burden of such effects to other republics has disappeared. One could even claim that the volume of abuses has increased in parallel with the narrowing of the state, and in inverse proportion to the financial capabilities of its enterprises and citizens. In fact, the possibilities for taxing enterprises and citizens whose subsistence level is at the threshold of poverty are increasingly smaller, and the authorities' needs are increasingly higher. That is why the gap between money and goods is increasing at an accelerated pace, and the consequence is galloping inflation, which will lead very soon to the complete collapse of the financial system and the abolition of money, i.e., the dinar, both as a medium of commerce and payment and as an accounting unit.

Hyperinflation's leading to collapse of the monetary system and the disappearance of the dinar is a law that is hard to avoid. In fact, it is not a consequence of an inadequate economic and financial policy: It is a result of the material relationships on which the authorities are based. The fact is that the volume of production is declining month by month; that the population's reserves of consumer goods and foreign currency are declining; that it is increasingly harder to import goods (even when one obtains foreign exchange by robbing citizens); that the war still has to be financed; that foreign money still has to be taken from the population; that the strata loyal to the authorities have to be financed; that the army and the massive police apparatus, regardless of their actually low standard of living, have to be viewed as being in a privileged position financially as well. Also, taxes cannot be increased in order to maintain budget revenues at the real level attained. It is not even possible to leave without income the two-thirds of the people who once worked at their own enterprises and are on so-called forced furloughs today.

Consequently, the authorities' room to maneuver in the area of monetary, credit, and fiscal policy is extremely narrow. There actually is no solution. It is possible, however, to resort to the distribution of minimal

amounts of basic food items. It is likely that rapid implementation of this distribution will be resorted to. The question is, however, how capable the authorities will be of ensuring regular distribution of even these minimal amounts. Experience to date with socialist governments, even from better times (the 1980's), has shown that there is an unbridgeable gap between the actual material possibilities and the capabilities of the state and the authorities' apparatus, on one hand, and the state's material possibilities, on the other hand.

Postponement of the Collapse

Naturally, it is also possible to reduce the abuses of the primary issuance. The purchase of foreign cash from citizens could simply be financed from the issuance. That would certainly affect the immediate users of this money materially, but it would contribute to slowing inflation, reducing the theft, and postponing the collapse of the financial system.

The accelerated death of production and commerce, the untenable hyperinflation, mass unemployment, the disappearance of the assets of economic enterprises, the increasingly more widespread social poverty, insecurity, and lack of prospects are partly a consequence of the collapse of the former SFRY and the state of war in the neighboring republics. Of course, there are also causes outside of these elements. That is proven by the financial and overall economic situation in the other republics of the former Yugoslavia—Slovenia and Macedonia, in which, in spite of the decline in production and the population's standard of living, satisfactory monetary stability has been established, and where there is a tendency toward a general improvement in the economic situation.

The fundamental material reason for the accelerated collapse of the FRY's economy is participation in financing the war on the territory of the former SFRY, participation in financing the authorities in the Serbian krajinas, but also the completely lack of coordination between the volume of public spending, primarily for the army and the police, and the volume of production and the material possibilities of enterprises and citizens. It is calculated that public spending is over 70 percent of the national income of Serbia and Montenegro, which means that virtually all newly created value is subject to redistribution. The national income is small in any case, and has been reduced to the level of the least developed countries. As a rule, public spending, and its share in national income in poor countries, has to be lower; here, in fact, it is essential to establish the most direct possible link between the income of individuals (regardless of whether the income comes from work, management, or capital) and the results of performing a function, since that is the basic incentive for higher and more effective involvement by every individual, and thus for general economic prosperity and getting out of poverty.

Lucrative Gasoline Border Deals

93BA1410C Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 13 Aug 93 p 31

[Article by Ljubomir Grubic: "Anus Mundi"]

[Text] The scene: border points along the Yugoslav-Hungarian-Romanian border. In the principal role: local peasants.

Resolution 820 lowered the curtain on many activities and padlocked enterprises. While for some the dark never comes, others never see the light.... Those who until yesterday were village idlers and ne'er-do-wells have suddenly become businessmen with some standing. Guys who complained their whole life that destiny had condemned them to live in a place whence "God shoots corner kicks," have suddenly realized that even the ANUS MUNDI becomes at a certain moment the "center of the world." This has, of course, been felt by neighbors on both sides of the border, and when there is goodwill and a common interest, then there is no international provision that can prevent them from achieving their objective.

"Recently, the Romanians have exaggerated. They are selling us gasoline at three times what it costs them (1.8 German marks [DM]). We are taking a scant 20-30 pfennigs per liter. We quarrel over every car coming from Romania. We ourselves are raising the price, and they are rubbing their hands and taking away marks. Then we naturally rob our associates from the big city to whom we have all of a sudden become of great interest and who all of a sudden value our friendship. You ought to see how they fawn on us. But the way the Romanians deal in gasoline.... They are just idiots, peasants. We could be under an embargo for 100 years, but we would never become as stupid as they are," said one of a hundred of our dealers waiting for the Romanians at the local border crossing near Nakovo. "Soon we will be selling them gasoline. The bear is going to be dancing in front of their door as well. Don't talk to me about the solidarity of Orthodox neighbors! Man, do you remember that revolution of theirs? At that time, I gave half my salary in order to help a suffering people, and now they are milking me. OK, we have not gone to war with one another and we will not, but soon we will collect for this moment of weakness of ours. The time will come when they are smoking receipts again and buying nylon stockings from us. I am not vengeful!"

At the beginning of the war with the Croats, one of the greatest fighters for the Serbian cause in Romania was a schoolteacher and principal in a town along the Yugoslav border. He even made a statement to the papers that he could hardly wait to join his brother Serbs on the front. Then he realized that it was more lucrative to "sell" the brothers gasoline. Who cares about a statement which could come down to: "Call, just give me a call...."

The man came to his senses and went to work.

Rising From the Dead

"Until the embargo was introduced, I was no one and nothing. Then this spring I realized that there was not enough petroleum on the market for the planting. To my good fortune, the Romanians also realized this, and business got going. They raised me up from the dead," another of our dealers said.

The situation is identical on the Yugoslav-Hungarian border. The lines of cars are becoming longer and longer every day, and the patience of Hungarian border authorities shorter and shorter. Our northern neighbors, so the story goes, are thinking seriously about limiting the entry of Yugoslavs, and of reducing visits to Hungary to one crossing per month. The Hungarian customs officials are consistent in enforcing the law.

The arrogant Yugoslavs who formerly squandered forints mercilessly in Szeged have now become quiet, in a hurry, and thrifty. Not a trace of that gallantry and self-confidence. Every forint has become as valuable as a drop of Shell 98 gasoline.

The situation with the dealers is quite different. They are becoming more and more arrogant, sure of themselves, and rich every day.

"There are three kinds of oil dealers," says one newfound rural petroleum dealer. "The main ones are those whom none of us knows. They operate with big quantities and never leave their offices. These are respected bigwigs who drive around in cars with darkened windows. The second group includes those who do not wait for the Romanians, but go there for gasoline. You will be amazed when I tell you that a Stojadin or Golf automobile can hold 500 liters."

Asked how such a quantity of gasoline can cross the border, he laughed as he took a sip of cold beer: "Easy, the formula is simple, you give the Romanian customs official DM100, and he does not see anything."

At DM100 per car, the border monitor takes care that the shady dealing is not see by the international inspectors who are seeing to the "consistent enforcement of the embargo against Yugoslavia." The net earnings from a trip like that is about DM500.

"There is no other place where you can get more or sweeter money in such a short time. Just so it lasts."

The Christening of Gasoline

The third and most numerous are those who wait for the Romanians when they come over here. Gasoline or what looks like it is being bought and sold by many people, beginning with workers on mandatory leave, pensions, or even high school students on vacation.

"I am happy if I earn DM20 to DM30 a day," says a young man who still has not finished the eighth grade. "That is more than my father's pension for two months."

In the early evening and in the course of the night, unusual guests travel through villages along the border. They come from all parts of Serbia, laden down with barrels and canisters. In the gloomy dark, the yards smell of octane fumes instead of daisies and lilac. The gasoline is mixed (it is good when it is enriched with liquid lead) with dubious and "rechristened" gasoline. The going rate is DM2 per liter.

The price of this fuel is double on the black market of Belgrade and Novi Sad.

"If you are lucky enough not to be caught by any police patrol to Belgrade, then you have made a splendid deal," says a nighttime visitor who often hauls the dangerous petroleum product between the Romanian border and Belgrade.

Drivers, who are forced to buy this fuel, pray to God that they have not bought something that has only the smell and color of gasoline. When carburetors clog up and the valves begin to knock, it becomes clear to them what they have bought. On several occasions, the police have seized sizable quantities of gasoline, but no one is even thinking of giving up this business. On the contrary, new "dealer" forces are appearing on the border every day.

The technology for coloring the fuel has also been figured out. There is blue, there is green, and there is even the "original" Shell red....

Fall is coming. The dealers are already getting ready to make money on oil. Only those who have to will harvest and plant.

Serbia

Four Boat Convoys Blockaded on Danube; Ultimatum Issued

LD0409130593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—There are currently four boat convoys in the area of the Danube blockade, which is organized by the nonparty associations White Rose [Bela Ruza] and Orthodox Concord-New Byzantium [Pravoslavna Sloga-Nova Vizantija], commander of the blockade headquarters Jovica Vlahovic said.

The following boat convoys have been stopped: Ukrainian convoys Praga, Petrozavod, and Iljuskin transporting ore to ironworks in Hungary and Austria, and Bulgarian convoy Aprilov which is also transporting iron ore for Austria and Hungary.

The blockade is continuing, and an ultimatum has been issued to the crews, a statement says, which they are going to convey to their companies who will then inform their governments. We shall let one of their boat convoys pass for one Yugoslav convoy that is transporting heating oil, medicines, humanitarian aid, and other

necessary materials. "This means: A convoy for convoy, a metric ton for a metric ton." [passage omitted]

Transportation Minister Criticizes Danube Blockade

LD0509162393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1611 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] Kragujevac, September 5 (TANJUG)—Serbian Transport and Communications Minister Zarko Katic said Wednesday [as received] the government of this Yugoslav republic disapproved of blocking the Danube since this is an international river with an international navigation regime.

The blockade of the Yugoslav part of the Danube, in response to the isolation of Yugoslavia, was organized by the organizations 'White Rose' and 'New Byzantium', both from Belgrade.

On Saturday alone, their activists stopped four convoys in Yugoslav danube waters—three Ukrainian and one Bulgarian. The vessels were carrying ore for the steel works in Hungary and Austria.

In a statement for Kragujevac radio, Katic called on the 'White Rose' and 'New Byzantium' to send a note of protest for the whole world to hear about the suffering of the Yugoslav people caused by the economic blockade of their country.

The economic blockade is part of the comprehensive U.N. Security Council sanctions imposed against Yugoslavia in late May 1992 and reinforced in April 1993 over its alleged involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to Katic, the U.N. seems to have forgotten that Yugoslavia exists. Everyone is permitted to sail on the Danube, only Yugoslavia is banned by the U.N. Resolution 820 from doing this, he said, and warned that in this way Yugoslavia incurred great losses since it has as many as 10,000 people employed in ports alone.

Katic said the damage from the economic blockade was disastrous not only for Yugoslavia but also for the Ukraine, Bulgaria, and Romania.

Rationing of Bread Possible in Nis

AU0409192793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] In numerous towns, even in the capital, there is not enough bread in the shops. Although the Nis-based Zitoprevoz today baked a record quantity of bread, the demand has not been fulfilled and there are long queues outside shops in Nis today. Dragan Dimitrijevic reports from Nis:

[Begin Dimitrijevic recording] [Words indistinct] The 90,000 loaves delivered to the food stores this morning have literally disappeared in a flash and the demand has not been satisfied in the slightest, which is reflected in long queues.

It is definite that the remaining quantities that will be delivered in the course of the afternoon will not suffice, especially, because the shops opened on Sunday will tomorrow receive only 6,000 loaves.

Due to lack of yeast, which comes as a result of enormous production of bread in the last few days, the Nis bakery will bake 70,000 loaves on Monday, which will again be considerably less that the current need. Zitopek announces that the problem with yeast will be resolved in the meantime.

Examining the chaotic situation in the supply of essential goods in general, and especially the supply of bread, the communal headquarters recommended examination of the possibilities for organized sale of bread. Namely, it is considered that the fear of Nis residents that there will be even less bread in the coming days contributed toward the shortage of this staple food and creation of stocks. There is also a belief that those who have their storage rooms full are purchasing the greatest quantities of bread. Therefore, according to the headquarters' decision, it might soon happen that the families in Nis buy bread with ration tickets, too.

By the way, the queues for bread and cigarettes are equally long. [end recording]

Belgrade To Issue Ration Tickets for Food

AU0409142093 Paris AFP in English 1358 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 4 (AFP)—City authorities have decided to sell ration tickets for food to Belgrade's 1.7 million people from the end of next week, the state-controlled newspaper POLITIKA reported Saturday [4 September].

A family of four will be able to buy tickets entitling it to a monthly ration of 25 kilograms (55 pounds) of flour, two kilograms (four pounds) each of sugar and washing powder, one kilogram (two pounds) of salt, and three litres (six pints) of cooking oil, the daily said.

These products have disappeared from shop shelves as the U.N.-imposed sanctions have caused widespread shortages in the Serbian economy.

The Belgrade authorities have decided to ration out the government's stocks of basic commodities. The city will ensure that the ticket price does not vary with the inflation rate, currently running at 10 percent a day, the paper said.

The U.N. Security Council imposed the sanctions in May 1992 to penalise the Yugoslav Federation, consisting of Serbia and Montenegro, for its support for Serb separatist forces fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Milosevic Argument With Karadzic Reported

AU0309134593 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Peace Package Remains on the Table"]

[Text] I am convinced that, despite the collapse of the talks today, the peace plan, the entire package will remain on the negotiating table. This was stated by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic last night.

It is clear that all the warring factions want the war to stop, but could not reach an agreement on it at that moment, Milosevic said, adding that the Serbian side will respect the cease-fire.

In reply to a journalist's question whether one could expect the lifting of the sanctions following the collapse of the talks, Milosevic said: "I ask you and your public whether there is any logic, or better still, is it moral to support the sanctions against the Serbs when the Muslim leadership is refusing the plan?"

President Milosevic stated that the proposed plan had been prepared for two months, that it represents a complete solution and that it is "totally insane" to return the talks to the beginning.

President Milosevic refused to say anything about the speculations on the introduction of UN protectorate over the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Box, p 3]

Shouting

Sources from the security in the Palais des Nations in Geneva claim that on Tuesday night [31 August] Serbian President Milosevic "shouted at Karadzic for hours." However, since they do not understand Serbian, they did not know what the "shouting" was all about.

Ethnic Bulgarian Sentenced for Meeting Diplomats

AU0409140293 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Sofia, September 3 (BTA)—A court ruling was received at the correspondent's office of the Bulgarian private OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK daily in Belgrade sentencing the ethnic Bulgarian from Bosilegrad (Serbia) Velin Stoichkov to pay a large fine or serve three days in prison, Mr. Velizar Enchev, OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK correspondent in Belgrade said in the central evening newscast of the Bulgarian National Television.

Mr. Stoichkov failed to inform the respective Serbian authorities within the 12 hours provided by the law of his meeting in Bosilegrad with two Bulgarian diplomats. According to the Bulgarian Embassy, the Serbian side was informed in advance of this meeting but obviously this was not sufficient for the authorities in Bosilegrad who decided to observe the law strictly, Velizar Enchev said.

The correspondent of the Bulgarian daily said that "the explanation to this absurd situation, which is a gross violation of human rights, should be sought in the fact that the Bulgarian Velin Stoichkov is chairman of the Bosilegrad section of the Democratic Union of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia."

The Bulgarians in Bosilegrad also reminded that the school year in Serbia started without the fulfillment of their demands for restoring Bulgarian language classes at the secondary and primary schools and kindergartens in the five Serbian municipalities in which there are ethnic Bulgarians. Representatives of the official Serbian authorities told the OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK correspondent that the Bulgarians there had voluntarily given up Bulgarian language studies and were satisfied with two optional classes a week. The National Television recalled that during his meetings in Belgrade early this week Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Dimitur Ikonomov said that the attitude of the Serbian authorities to the Bulgarians there would determine the future of bilateral relations.

Serbian Bishop's Views on Bosnia Attacked

93BA1410E Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 13 Aug 93 pp 28-29

[Open letter from attorney Ilija Radulovic to Bishop Atanasije: "Serbia on the Titanic"]

[Text] Your Reverence, you are bothered by the idea of Bosnia under a protectorate of the United Nations, but you are not bothered by Serbia under the protectorate of a policy of war, isolation, poverty, misery, hatred, division, grief, freezing, terrorism, general anomie, impiety, dealers, smugglers, murderers, mafiosi, insane enmity, bloodshed, disenfranchised reason, vice as virtue, nonsense as sense, disaster as goal, destruction as creation, death as life, the language of the yataghan, the state as an estate, banditry as a way of life, subjects instead of citizens, and party states instead of law-governed states.

We have gone back to the time of nahijas and princedoms, vizier's assistants and qadis, hajduks and buljubasas, oberknezes and basknezes, vilayet princes and grand princes. From vojvodas a la Vuk Micunovic we have arrived and fallen to divisions of vojvodas of anonymity, we have been transformed from people mostly to nonpeople, from heroes many have become war criminals, because we have turned war into a great crime.

Thus, we have arrived at the terrible Judgment, and only truths are spoken before it.

The Grand Inquisitor has built in these parts a strong Tower of Babylon on the real mental characteristics of this people. He has based his authority on the instinct of the people to "enslave us, but feed us." This people does

not know that a Tower of Babylon built in that way without God ends in anthropophagy.

This situation recalls the situation which drove Thomas Mann to speak the truth about his people in the time of Hitler's rule. "I would not be able to live, I would not be able to work, because I would smother if I did not have the occasion, as the old people said, to cleanse my heart, to occasionally express without concealment my unpleasant abhorrence of what is happening at home through pitiful words and pitiful deeds.... It is a pitiful people that seeks a way out for itself in the horrors of war, which is hated by God and men. That people is lost. Gentlemen, help my benighted and abused land to make peace with the world and with itself."

The Evil of Vengeance

Vuk Draskovic has behaved in the manner of Thomas Mann when he communicated the truth about what we have become and what we are in this war. A small people can save itself only with the idea of justice, freedom, and the law. It has the right to defend itself and to wage war, but in accordance with the provisions of the four Geneva conventions dating from 11 August 1949. Whoever uses the vengeful principle "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" becomes great only in a great war crime and clears a wide and expansive path for his exit and departure from the world of this civilization and this life.

So, Vuk Draskovic is embracing the truth of "the truth will make you free." He is courting the truth, not the people. This weakness in politics is a virtue in Christianity. This gladdens Christians!!!

"Muslims! Although you are of a different faith, you are our brothers. You will live in freedom in a liberated Herzegovina. In it, the law will be one and the same and will be just for all. No one will touch your faith, which will be kept sacred. If even today you cannot fight together with your brother Christians against the Ottomans, I appeal to you to sit down peacefully. In that case, you will be safe from any attack and injury with your life and your property."

The proclamation of King Nikola to the Herzegovinian people in January 1976 is in this corridor of truth:

The Montenegrin king addressed his people with an order that they must not resort to vengeance. "The freedom we enjoy today must not embolden you to revenge toward the brothers because of the Muslim faith. I want a spirit of brotherhood and reconciliation to prevail among you."

Reasons of Heaven and Earth

This powerful man of the spirit used the liturgy of the spirit and the system of human rights, but not the system of apartheid from the high point of Montenegrin intelligence!!!

And Saint Peter of Cetinje announced to his people the truth about its shortcomings, saying: "Everything that is good to God and honest people is the opposite to you; you have departed from God and have altogether lost the fear of God; you do not find good and respect in anything, but in your evil and lawless self-satisfaction you have no higher evildoer than you yourself, and no one does anything to you without a quarrel from you. It is with great grief and with tears that I see that all of our friends and all the devils in the world could not do you as much evil, damage, and shame as you have done to yourself. But what point is there in complaining and crying, when you love evil more than good and shame more than respect, and when you do not heed what I teach you and counsel you? You listen to no one who is working and speaking for your good, but just let someone come among you who is a liar, and you will all believe him."

So that is how a ruler of the House of Prayer cleansed his heart!!!

However, the rulers of the Den of Thieves cannot talk that way, because their main ambition is to rule the large masses. They are not interested in the truth, love, peace, and joy, because territory is their Celestial Empire.

Territory was the Golden Calf for Hitler as well!!!

You have a strong feeling of hatred toward Western civilization; you reduce Christianity to the doctrine of Saint Sava as Enver Hoxha reduced Marxism to his own despotism, you make Serbia the capital of virtue like Jerusalem, for you the world is only Orthodoxy, and a different opinion is evil. This reminds me of boulangism in France, Hitlerism in Germany, and fascism in Italy. All totalitarians are the same, because they are Machiavellians. They have a feeling of duty only toward their own group, and that is why they are always warring against all those who do not accept their ideology; war is the only form of their communication with the world. Their essential feature is exclusiveness and combativeness. That is why the Fascists in the 1920's of this century shouted: "We need neither Lenin nor Wilson."

That is also what you want!!!

In a fight between beasts, only physical strength is important, but in a war between peoples a moral idea is the paramount goal of the struggle.

Sapienti sat! Communion is a basic feature of Christian thought, "because all have one communion in one bread" (First Psalms, Chapter X).

That is why real Christians do not belong to nationalities or parties, just as they are also true advocates of a market economy, except that the Christian guarantees the completeness and fullness of his life.

I do not know whether you know that the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens is religious in origin. Jelinek has proven that it originated in religious communities in England, and then was carried to the United States and France. Its source is in the religious consciousness and the need for freedom of conscience and the

unconditional importance of the human individual. The individual has importance, and rights and freedoms are recognized values.

There is this cosmopolitanism in the Epistle to Diognetus:

"Every foreign country is a Christian homeland, and every homeland is a foreign country to them."

These reasons of Heaven and Earth say that this world is one village, and our home is where we live.

It is clear to me who is the ruler of the House of Prayer and who is the ruler of the Den of Thieves. I sense them by love and by hatred. They do not differ in what they say. Meekness, peace, and joy are the features of speech from the House of Prayer.

Nevertheless, we are dealing here with something more important. Serbia at this moment is socially, politically, economically, legally, spiritually, and morally on a Titanic. Life on the Titanic is not normal, natural, regular, reasonable, developing, social, congenial, spiritual, cultural, communicative, or healthy. Because my predominant interest in politics is the interest of the citizens of Serbia, I have been preoccupied with seeking a way of rescue from this situation. I think that that road of salvation lies in the return of Serbia to the world and of the world to Serbia, not in enthroning your philosophy of the small town and Bismarkian nationalism. An enclosed Serbia is a Serbia of the oven, of the rag, of the subject, of the party state, of the consensus economy, of despotism, of primitive industry, of rural healers and quacks, of lies, of darkness, of ignorance, of collectivity, of egalitarian ideology, of the magician's religion and not a religion of seeking and finding meaning, of the individual deprived of human dignity, freedom, right, individuality, and a hierarchy of values.

Acim Cupic said that the peasant from his village wrote to Knez Milos a request that he release the rain to them.

That datum speaks eloquently and is very important!

This correspondence between Your Holiness and Vuk Draskovic is not a polemic, but a polemos!

This is a struggle between an open Serbia and a closed Serbia, between Serbia as a work of civilization and Serbia as an enclosed space, between the Serbia of life and the Serbia of death, between the Serbia of Nikola Tesla, Mihajlo Pupin, Dada Djuric, and Milos Crnjanski and the Serbia of spiritual anonymities who flee into the multitude, between the Serbia of light and the Serbia of darkness, between the Serbia which begs for rain from its leader and the Serbia that has a guaranteed system of irrigation, between Serbia with a soul and Serbia with a cross-eyed soul, between Your ethnic Serbia and my civil Serbia.

The other day, when Francois Mitterrand sent an airplane for Mr. Vuk Draskovic, I realized that in this gesture the world is telling the citizens of Serbia that it accepts civil Serbia and the world wants to return to that kind of Serbia.

Between the philosophy which reduces the world to all the Serbs and the philosophy which reduces the world to all people there is a difference which places them in an antinomic relationship. It is natural and normal, then, that there should have occurred what has occurred between Your Reverence and Mr. Vuk Draskovic, in view of the fact that anyone who realizes that the world is in all men is castrated by the conception that the world is in all Serbs.

Only Your Serbia is worse than this Serbia!

With respect and a kiss of the hand, Your Ilija Radulovic
Belgrade, August 1993

SPS Relations With Radicals, Democrats

93BA1410D Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 13 Aug 93 pp 27-28

[Article by Cvijetin Milivojevic: "A Rose in the Vojvoda's Hand"]

[Text] The self-styled Serbian democratic opposition, the same one which seized for itself the exclusive right to bring down Milosevic in order to save Serbia, is extending its hand to the red who is drowning for the second time in the last three months. It started with the Vance-Owen plan and Milosevic's ultimatum to Karadzic, when virtually the entire "democratic team" of the national opposition (with the exception of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] and certain smaller parties) took the side of the Belgrade regime against the Bosnian Serbs. The pardoning of the guilt of the current government grew into open collaboration recently in the Federal Assembly, when during the vote on the rebalancing of the budget the deputies of DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] and the Democratic Party [DS] played the "council for reconciliation" to save the illegitimate coalition of the Socialists and Radicals....

Dr. Vojislav Seselj might have clucked with satisfaction when it was demonstrated once and for all who is the satellite and who is the authentic opposition to the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia]. There was nothing left for the so-called democratic opposition but to pass over in silence the rough arguments of the person who until recently was the "red vojvoda" and the president's "favorite politician" and, waiting for its own Godot like Stentor in front of the walls of Troy, to continue its race, lost in advance, to outshout the impenetrable bastilles of the regime. To round out the absurdity—no one any longer conceals it in the opposition—all the hopes of the "democratic" and that other Serbia were turned toward 15 September and the man who gave the Socialists a deadline by that Wednesday to "get busy solving the problems in the country."

Patience

Is the SRS [Serbian Radical Party], also referred to as the "Party of Reserve Socialists," the only serious opposition force at the moment in Serbia, or is this yet another political maneuver carried out by the Socialists and Radicals designed to trap the "traitors and foreign mercenaries"?

Dragutin Brcin, a member of the Executive Board of the SPS, answered that question indirectly:

"We are not only not in an official coalition, we are not even in an actual coalition with the SRS. Our party is only the strongest parliamentary party, and it is respecting the will of the citizens expressed in free elections.... As for the distribution of the votes in the Assembly, it is obvious that voting a lack of confidence in the minority government of the Socialists would result in a parliamentary crisis. The question is whether elections would be the answer to that situation. Second, the question is also imposed of how various people would do in that election?"

The essence of the response of the SRS leader comes down to the sentence: "We are creating events, and the SPS is allowing events to get ahead of it."

The lowest common denominator in the attitude of the two parties is actually contained in the phrase—fear of elections. That is precisely what distinguishes the Radicals and Socialists from the so-called democratic opposition, which, with its standing slogan of "early elections, continually, until final victory"—in the present wartime situation is hurrying along yet another election defeat for itself.

The Radicals, however, aware that their radical time has come here and now, are not fleeing early elections at any price, but they have a simple calculation that every new day under the government of the Socialists brings new voters to the Radicals. It is simply a question of a fact which for three years now that part of the opposition personified by the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] has been refusing to honor. That is, first, so long as the war in Bosnia and the Krajina lasts, and until the status of Kosmet is finally decided, the opening up of a front with the person of Slobodan Milosevic is a counterproductive act by all the laws of nature and politics. Second, at a moment when their national strategy over the Drina is in a way being verified even by the international community, the Socialists are simply untouchable on the field of their national and governmental involvement.

Vojislav Seselj has been disciplined in abiding by both lessons and is looking for his chance by systematically undermining the foundations of the SPS authority among traditional SPS voters—the pure proletariat, the deceived peasants, the hungry pensioners, and the more radical segment of the military establishment. At this moment, Seselj is only updating what the SPS ("With us, there is no uncertainty") has promised before every election. Adding to the theory of social security the demagogic note of social leveling ("So long as the sanctions last, and they will last a dozen years")—the vojvoda is combining Churchill's platform of "blood, sweat, and tears" with the German-American experiences between the two world wars, in the area of public works, equal pay, voluntary self-isolationism....

But what once again distinguishes him from the remainder of the opposition is "concern for the state and the nation" and bitter opposition to solving political and social conflicts outside the parliament.

"Every large-scale strike and street rebellion would at this moment result in bloodshed and a civil war, which would bring to power undemocratic forces and reestablishment of dictatorship. I do not want to take responsibility for such events, and if that current prevails in the SRS, I will not take part in it," Seselj warns.

Crime

Operation Cosic and Operation Panic can be viewed as a dress rehearsal for what is expected in September unless the Socialists can in the meantime grapple with the third thesis in the president's January inaugural address. Vojislav Seselj, that is, is already saying that the "fight against crime" does not stop for him with the arrest of two former ministers. And if he sets out on a witch-hunt, he could start the wolf—the present government is so dependent on systemic crime, which in our country has never before been like a "state racket," "business and patriotism under the sanctions," "primary issue," and the like.

The next Achilles' heel of the incumbent party, of which the Radicals are making maximum use, is the fact that the choice of certain key personnel in the government apparatus depends directly on the will of the SRS, while that party, because it is not participating in the executive branch—does not share responsibility for the failures. The best example, then, of the extent to which the SPS is actually subject to the "reins" of the SRS when it comes to personnel, is the case of Nebojsa Covic, who, after publicly saying "no" to a coalition with the Radicals, has lost the position of (republic) prime minister, which was already in sight.

Finally, the Radicals are demonstrating in both Bosnia and Krajina their superiority over the Socialists—at the same time making an issue even of Milosevic's charisma. The anathema which Seselj has cast on Milosevic's appointee, Goran Hadzic, is a clear enough signal that even that favorite of the Belgrade regime will soon be politically removed. "Unless Milosevic removes Seselj himself before that," remark those who argue that the vojvoda is the president's puppet.

Assuming that the president of Serbia is in a political position to do so. At the moment, Seselj is such a legalist and legitimist that he simply will not give Milosevic an occasion to even think along those lines. Hrtkovci and similar aggressive escapades long ago ceased to be the political method of the Radicals, and Seselj's most recent

decision to take a seat away from Ceka Dacevic, the military commander from Pljevlja, is the most effective answer to the charge of the authorities of Montenegro and Serbia that the Radicals are extremists, bullies, or, indeed, shock troops with a fascist taint.

The Krajinas

Does the band of red roses, then, have the right insecticide to defend its power?

The Socialists showed the first obvious signs of nervousness with the sudden launching of the idea of unifying the Yugoslav left and formation of committees of the SPS in the Serbian krajinas. They are also absolutely aware of the encroaching Radical danger in the incumbent Montenegrin party; for all their effort, the officials of the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS] have been unable to conceal this. Which accounts for their consent to at least coordination of the political left in the FRY, although it might appear at the outset that the DPS will reject as hegemonistic the idea of direct or indirect entry of the SPS onto Montenegrin territory.

There is a still more drastic example in the announcement (and cancellation of the idea) of expansion of the activity of the SPS in the Srpska republic and the Serbian Republic Krajina, territories from which, beginning with the 1990 election, and then 9 March 1991, and the last election—the Socialists have been receiving an urgently needed infusion in the form of support from the "people" there.

Following the Radical social message, the Socialists are now announcing their final showdown with inflation and assurance of a more tolerable life. For the poorest. Coincidentally, just to be sure, they have made Seselj's appearances on government television less frequent.

The Socialists, then, still have hope that with occasional concessions they will still manage to keep Seselj happy when the need arises. They still have a hope that the so-called democratic opposition will prefer to be with the SPS than with the Radicals. Otherwise, they are left two possibilities: to withdraw from power or to consent to the role of being Seselj's satellite.

Montenegro

Liberal Alliance Withdraws Members from Government

LD0309221293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Podgorica, 2 Sep (TANJUG)—The Liberal Alliance of Montenegro [LS] has decided to withdraw its members from the republican government—Ecology Minister Vukic Pulevic and Urban Development Minister Miodrag Burzan.

Explaining the decision, LS Chairman Slavko Perovic told a news conference today that the decision was adopted because of "the tragic situation in all spheres of life in Montenegro."

The straw that broke the camel's back and dispersed all our hopes that the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS] has the strength to carry out possible changes is the deplorable result of a recent meeting between Montenegrin Prime Minister Djukanovic, Federal Prime Minister Kontic and Serbian Prime Minister Sainovic, Perovic said, adding that the DPS "is offering hunger, poverty, devastated prospects, and war communism."

Perovic said Montenegro finds itself in this position because it is clawed down "in the Zabljak state creation" [reference to mountain in Montenegro where the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's constitution was drawn up], the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, contrary to its own will.

Macedonia

U.S. 'Pressure' Cited on Border Controls

LD0609174593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1719 GMT 6 Sep 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 6 (TANJUG)—All freight traffic between Yugoslavia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (F.Y.R.M.)—by road or railroad—has ground to a halt, with not a single freight vehicle crossing into Yugoslavia on Monday [6 September], and only passenger traffic proceeds unhampered, says Yugoslav customs official Marko Rovcanin.

The F.Y.R.M. Government on Monday said it had decided to keep open only two crossings to its northern neighbour for freight traffic.

In the surprise move, the F.Y.R.M. Government on Friday closed all but Tabanovce and Blace crossings with Yugoslavia, pleading strict adherence to sanctions clamped by the world on Yugoslavia.

The government in Skopje explains its move with following to the letter the instructions as set down in the U.N. Security Council's resolution 820 which prescribes a tight isolation of Yugoslavia, but members of foreign missions in Skopje see a link between the latest move and increasingly frequent visits by U.S. senators, congressmen, generals and other officials, who are putting pressure on the local authorities, warning them of consequences that might result from alleged violations of the sanctions.

The U.N. Security Council imposed mandatory and comprehensive sanctions on Yugoslavia in May of 1992, because of its alleged involvement in the war raging among the local Muslims, Serbs and Croats in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The sanctions have been tightened twice, most recently by resolution 820 in late April.

About 350 U.S. soldiers have been deployed in the F.Y.R.M. in July, as part of a U.N. peacekeeping force which should prevent the war raging in parts of former Yugoslavia from spilling over into the rest of the Balkans.

Zivojin Djordjevin, a ranking Yugoslav customs official in charge of the Djeneral Jankovic and Globocica crossings, has confirmed the presence of U.S. soldiers on the Macedonian side of the border, who are there together with Macedonian customs police to enforce a tight control of the goods traffic between the two countries.

Meanwhile, Yugoslav customs authorities are in close contact with their Macedonian counterparts to ensure that no trucks carrying relief aid with valid permits from the U.N. sanctions committee should be kept waiting at the border.

Those well-versed in the situation in former Yugoslavia believe that this pressure by the United States is directed against the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and the Serbian people as a whole, and that it is in the service of Washington's long-term military strategic plans for the Balkans and beyond, in eastern Europe.

Skopje's commercial circles argue that the tightening of the sanctions will wreak more havoc in the Macedonian economy and that the United States should compensate at least for the damage done to the national economy so far, estimated at one billion 800 million dollars.

U.S. To Ooen Office in Skopje

LD0309210993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1914 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Skopje, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—U.S. authorities informed the Government of Macedonia today that the United States will open an office in Skopje.

According to a statement issued this evening in the Macedonian capital, this is a temporary solution, until full diplomatic relations are established between the two countries. It will enable further intensified cooperation between the two countries in all fields, the statement says.

The opening of the office and the presence of the troops indicate increased interest by the United States in a stabilization of the overall situation in the region, the statement by the Government of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia says.

Government Protests As Minister Refused Entry Into Greece

AU0709102593 Paris AFP in English 0951 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] Skopje, Sept 7 (AFP)—Macedonia on Tuesday [7 September] expressed "astonishment and regret" after Greek authorities refused entry to the Macedonian health minister to attend a conference in Athens.

Health Minister Jovan Tofovski had planned to attend a meeting of the World Health Organization (WHO) in the Greek capital.

The Macedonian Foreign Ministry, in a statement here, accused Greek authorities of "preventing Macedonia from fulfilling its commitments arising from its statute as a full member of this UN organization."

Tension has continued between the two neighboring countries, notably over a dispute over Macedonia's name which Greece, which has a province of the same name, has opposed.

Macedonia, which became independent in December 1991, was admitted to the United Nations last April under the provisional name of the "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia".

Prime Minister on Government Goals, Threats

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[Interview with Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski by Mihailo Nicota in Skopje; date not given: "Peace Is Like Health"]

[Text] *The youngest prime minister in Europe on the goals and accomplishments of his coalition government, and on the risks and dangers that still threaten Macedonia.*

We do not know if there is anywhere else in the world, especially in Europe, where two members of a government have the same surname but are not related. The prime minister in the current Macedonian Government is Branko Crvenkovski, while the minister of foreign affairs is Stevo Crvenkovski, but the two of them are completely unrelated. The first of the two is an absolute record-holder: At only 31 years of age (his birthday is in October), he is absolutely the youngest prime minister in Europe. As the leader of the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia (SDSM), which is the successor to the former League of Communists of Macedonia (SKM), he formed a coalition government of leftist and Albanian parties one year ago, so that his new team as well is probably unique in Europe: Among its 22 ministers, six are members of nationalities—five Albanians and one Turk (Minister of Culture Ismail Gjuner). We spoke with Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski about the tasks and accomplishments of his government, and about present-day Macedonia.

[Nicota] Was your election as prime minister a chance occurrence, an isolated case, or does it perhaps indicate a new trend in Macedonia?

[Crvenkovski] In recent years in Macedonia, with the introduction of the multiparty system, a significant share of young people have gained the opportunity to speak

out in politics, but also in other areas of activity. It is likely that all these major changes in the political and economic system are a challenge to young people who are not burdened by life in the old system, so that it is easier for them to adjust to changes, to accept them.

What was the decisive factor in my entering politics? I admit that I do not know the real answer to that. Perhaps it is important that in recent years there have been such enormous changes that can essentially influence not only what direction this state and nation take, but also the individual fates of each of us. There are people who, quite simply, cannot settle for watching such enormous changes from the sidelines.

[Nicota] What were the main goals of your government when you formed it a year ago?

[Crvenkovski] Given the circumstances that prevailed in our encircled situation, the first main task was how to preserve peace. It was seen that peace was the fundamental precondition for all changes in the political and economic system. Under conditions of war, it is utterly impossible to carry out democratization and introduce a market economy, and those are the ultimate goals aspired to by the Republic of Macedonia. Thus, the first focus was to preserve peace, while the second task was to settle the status of the Republic of Macedonia under international law on the foreign scene, to complete the process of its international recognition. The third task: to accelerate and radicalize economic reforms in the direction of introducing a market economy, and the fourth was to put the finishing touches on the political system in the direction of democratization. Of course, it was our goal to make state administration more effective, but most of all to eliminate all manifestations of corruption, the gray economy, and crime, manifestations that—let us be frank—burden nearly every state during the transition from one system to another. This is nothing peculiar to Macedonia; it exists in Bulgaria, Romania, Russia, especially in Serbia, and even in Croatia. That must become part of the everyday struggle against threats to the system of society's moral values.

[Nicota] Which of these tasks have been achieved thus far?

[Crvenkovski] Macedonia has remained the only of the former Yugoslav republics to pull out of the bloody Yugoslav drama without war, at least for now, but I believe that that will remain the case. That is a quality that must always be borne in mind. Peace is like health: While he is healthy, a person does not appreciate his health, but when he gets sick he recognizes its true value. That is also what peace is like: Those who have not felt the horrors of war believe that peace is an unchangeable gift of nature. Based on everything that is happening in our encirclement, however, it can be concluded that it takes very little to cross that critical line beyond which people and entire nations can hardly return.

[Nicota] Have all the dangers that Macedonia too will be seized by the conflagration of war been finally eliminated?

[Crvenkovski] Conditionally speaking, there is a high risk of peace in Macedonia. First, Macedonia is a state in which various nationalities live, aside from the Macedonian nation. That means that there is the same fundamental danger that has most often led to interethnic, ethnic, and religious conflict in the former Yugoslavia and certain other former socialist states. Second, we have an economic situation that is creating social tensions. This is a bad economic situation, despite favorable comparative data with certain other states. However, the fact is that we cannot be completely satisfied with the economic situation. Third, we have some neighbors who hope for chaos in Macedonia because their aspirations toward Macedonia have long been apparent and present, and will probably manifest themselves in the future as well.

[Nicota] Despite all this, Macedonia has preserved peace, at least thus far and for now. How has that been possible?

[Crvenkovski] Yes, we have succeeded, but not because we had a strong military that would have deterred any neighbor from aggressive intentions. We succeeded most of all because of the moderate and wise policy that we have pursued this whole time, because we were aware that not a single method using force and pressure yields results. For now we are satisfied with what we have done in this regard. The Republic of Macedonia is already a member of the United Nations, and this has opened the door to integration into Europe and further into the world community. That means that in this period Macedonia, in terms of international law, has managed to cement its statehood on the international scene.

[Nicota] Why are you so harsh when you assess the economic situation in Macedonia?

[Crvenkovski] Executing economic reforms is a painful process, not only for us, but also in all former socialist states. It has turned out to be the case that this process demands payment of a certain price, either in the form of social unrest and social stratification or through a drop in the standard of living. Several fundamental preconditions must be met in order to speak of a true market economy and genuine economic progress. One of the most serious questions is privatization, and all such states are confronted with this, simply because there is no completely successful recipe. It has turned out that there is no historical experience with privatization, either empirical or theoretical.

[Nicota] What are the principles of privatization in Macedonia and how far have you gone in applying them?

[Crvenkovski] We have tried to use some of the experience of others while taking into account some of our peculiarities. We adopted a law on privatization, which sets up relations in a rather different way than the

process that had begun to be applied based on Ante Markovic's law. The basic feature is that privatization is paid for. This means that generally whoever invests his own money can become an owner. There is no free privatization using internal stock shares or other populist measures. We submitted our law for examination by international financial institutions and got high marks. However, it remains to be seen what will happen in practice.

[Nicota] You are very critical of the economic situation in Macedonia. However, we see that life here is currently much better than in some other states of the former Yugoslavia, and even in comparison to, say, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania....

[Crvenkovski] That is the first assessment of someone looking from the outside, but it is an illusion. We are not satisfied with how we are living. We too have experienced a horrible drop in production and the standard of living, compared to the period several years ago. All the more so since we have had additional problems during this period, besides the ones associated with the transition to a new system and reforms. These are problems that have emerged because of the blockade by our southern neighbor, a blockade of many months that has resulted in a serious oil crisis. There are also problems because of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, which prevent us from using the shortest route to European markets. These roundabout routes raise transport costs so much that our products are becoming noncompetitive on those markets....

[Nicota] The world occasionally accuses Macedonia of violating the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. What is the truth about this?

[Crvenkovski] Even before we were a member of the United Nations, the previous government declared that it would comply with these sanctions. And that is the stance of this government too. That is because we recognize that these sanctions were imposed to keep the war from spreading, as an attempt by the international community to force Serbia and Montenegro to accept and realize certain obligations that have been imposed on them. However, it should also be said that there is no other state that is bearing such a heavy burden from these sanctions as Macedonia is. It is quite possible that the first victim of the sanctions will not be Serbia, but instead the Macedonian economy. That is why we have continually indicated that we are willing to consistently comply with the sanctions, but we also demand that we be helped so that we can withstand this situation. Unfortunately, we have not received any aid thus far, nor are there any prospects that we will get any in the near future: The United Nations simply does not have funds for that purpose. But despite all the difficulties, pressures, and problems encountered by Macedonian companies, we are trying to enforce the sanctions as rigorously as possible. Naturally, there are cases where something slips through and crosses over, which is why the government recently issued a decree on penalties for those who violate the sanctions.

[Nicota] You were recently in Budapest at a meeting of the Central European Initiative. Did you meet with Croatian Prime Minister Valentic?

[Crvenkovski] Yes, we met in Budapest, but we had already met in Switzerland, at Crans Montana. We had brief talks. I invited Mr. Valentic to come to Skopje, and he invited me to Zagreb. Now it is up to the ministers of foreign affairs to arrange the concrete details. I believe that there could be some sort of summit meeting before long.

[Nicota] What is your assessment of Croatian-Macedonian relations?

[Crvenkovski] Croatia was one of the first states to recognize Macedonia. And vice versa. There is no reason not to establish good cooperation, there are no points of contention whatsoever between us, we are linked by developed economic, cultural, and scientific cooperation, not only during the time of the former Yugoslavia, but also by the significantly older tradition of good relations. It seems to me that some things have already begun to unfold. Some agreements for economic and commercial, as well as cultural and scientific cooperation, are in the preparatory phase. One of the main reasons for the stagnation thus far is Croatia's excessive concern with its own problems associated with the war, with so-called Krajina, but also with the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We understand that and for our part we are ready to establish diplomatic relations at the highest level. And we have expressed this to the Croatian side on several occasions. In terms of the expectation that the economic relations that already exist today, but that are inadequate, will be intensified before long, it is necessary to open embassies in Skopje and Zagreb. We are ready to do so immediately.

Kosovo

Government To Institute Food Rationing

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[Text] Tirana, September 5 (ATA)—The Serbian Government issued a draft law to establish this month a rationing system in Kosova for the first necessity food stuffs since it is occupied by Serbia. The ration cards provide a four-member family with 25 kg of flour, 3 litres of oil, 2 kg sugar, 1 kg salt, and four bars of soap. The Albanians of Kosova will be subject to discrimination even in rationed out supplies.